

# The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the  
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS.

Associates: { E. C. HEGELER.  
                  { MARY CARUS.

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VOL. XXIII. (No. 7.)

JULY, 1909.

NO. 638.

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Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS

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                  { MARY CARUS

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THE PHILOSOPHER ADRIFT.  
By Murata Tanryō.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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## OUR OWN RELIGION IN ANCIENT PERSIA.

ZOROASTER (ZARATHUSHTRA) AND THE BIBLE.\*

BY PROFESSOR MILLS.

[This essay, in its original form, was delivered twice as a public lecture before distinguished audiences in Oxford some years ago. It was soon after, or soon before, printed in the *Nineteenth Century Review* of January, 1894, also in its shorter form; and later, with the consent of the editor of that review and of the author, it was translated into Gujarati,—whether by Mr. Palanji Madan or not, the writer is not now certain, though he is under the impression that it was this scholar who translated it. He had previously translated the Gātha portion, that is to say, one-half of the XXXIst volume of the *Sacred Books of the East* into Gujarati in, say, 1889, and I take especial pleasure in expressing my acknowledgments for that distinguished piece of work here, in America, where the translator could hardly have expected that his name would become known. That translation of this essay into Gujarati was published by the Trustees of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy Translation Fund of Bombay in a large edition. The late very distinguished editor of the *Review* mentioned seemed gratified that the article was to be thus reproduced in an Oriental language, and he also later gave permission to the author to insert it in a volume of *Miscellaneous Pieces* upon Zarathushtrianism, which it is hoped will be soon forthcoming. (The lecture has also just lately been translated into Italian by a talented author entirely upon his own suggestion and initiative, and will soon be issued in that form.) Those who may happen to compare this lecture with either its original in the *Review*, or in its Gujarati translation, will notice at once that it is somewhat enlarged, and also that I seem to have altered my opinions to some degree as to one of the essential points, since I delivered the piece first, and since I gave it to the eminent periodical. This however is more apparent than real, although I have certainly felt, and somewhat pointedly the necessity for putting the possible, or probable, *independent origin* of our Jewish immortality in a clearer light. Readers will also easily recognize the later insertions, which may be printed in this present edition, from the difference in the stylistic flow of the language as a later and to some extent a more pointed animus imparts greater pungency and vivacity to one's mode of expressing oneself.]

MANY interested but necessarily hasty readers of the Zend Avesta overlook the fact that in the ancient documents comprised under that name we have works of many different ages; and even scholars eminently endowed with the critical faculty as applied to

\* See the *Nineteenth Century Review* of Jan. 1894, the title Zoroaster having been applied to the article by the Editor.

other specialties sometimes fall into a similar error, and ignore a characteristic which the Avesta possesses in common with nearly all other writings of its description; for they sometimes turn over its pages without perceiving, or seeming to perceive, that from leaf to leaf matter comes before them made up of pieces nearly or quite dissimilar, and sometimes separated as to the dates of their authorship by many hundreds of years. They are accordingly apt to make themselves merry over absurdities which prevail in the later but still genuine Avesta, as if they were peculiar to the original Zoroastrian writings.<sup>1</sup>

But the author or authors of the earlier Avesta had no immediate or certain connection with the superstitions of later centuries; and as to these quaint myths and trivial ceremonials which are preserved in the later Avesta, are we not apt to exaggerate the disadvantages which they bring with them? How can their presence affect the value of the nobler elements in these relics of ancient faith?

We are pained to read them, but analogous superfluities survive in many modern systems. And indeed some of the later passages in the Zend Avesta which describe the battle with the Demon of Putrefaction, and which might seem to some of us most grotesque, were hardly superfluities, for they showed a sanitation which it would be better for us to follow rather than condemn.<sup>2</sup> In tracing the following analogies, which for brevity's sake I take for the most part from the genuine, but still later,<sup>3</sup> Avesta, I shall leave out these grotesque details generally, abandoning them as rare morsels to the collector of ancient bits. What is here intended is to call attention to the little-known, though long since reported fact, that it pleased the Di-

<sup>1</sup> It is even not uncommon to speak or write of the Avesta as if it were identical with the later Zoroastrianism, the revived system of Sasanian times, which is however as different from both the earlier and the later Avesta as the lives of saints are from the New Testament records.

<sup>2</sup> Consciously or unconsciously they anticipated much modern theory on this subject, and led the way in the most practical of all sciences—disinfection.

<sup>3</sup> The original and earlier Avesta consists of the Gāthas, the original hymns of Zoroaster and his immediate associates or followers. They are most dissimilar to the rest of the Avesta and still more so to the apocryphal Zoroastrianism. They were carefully translated by me in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXI, so long ago as October 1887, and their Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, and Persian texts were edited and the first three translated by me with a Commentary in my *Study of the Gāthas*, some 650 pages, 1902-94 (F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig). They may be provisionally placed at about 700 to 900 B. C.; but, if they antedate the cults of Mithra, Haoma (Soma), and of the sun, moon, etc., etc., all of which they totally ignore, they must be centuries older. The remaining parts of the Avesta are of different ages, say from 600 to 300 B. C., while, as in the case of every other ancient book, spurious additions of an indefinitely later origin occur here and there. Some writers, while holding the Gāthas to date at about 700 B. C., put even vigorous parts at a thousand years later, quite an irrational suggestion.



vine Power to reveal some of the fundamental articles of our Catholic creed first to Zoroastrians, though these ideas later arose spontaneously and independently among the Jews; secondly I wish to emphasize the peculiar circumstances of this independent origin among the Jewish tribes of the Exile; and thirdly I wish to show that the Persian system must have exercised a very powerful, though supervening and secondary influence upon the growth of these doctrines among the Exilic and post-Exilic Pharisaic Jews, as well as upon the Christians of the New Testament, and so eventually upon ourselves.

After this brief preface, let me proceed at once to cite the documentary facts, only remarking that they are practically uncontested by any persons whose views are worth considering,—while the original passages could even be sufficiently learned by any apt scholar in the course of a very short time.

To begin with our excerpts from the Sacred Book of the Iranians, let us first trace the connection where it seems least obvious, that is, as to the *nature of the Deity*. Ahura Mazda, the Living Lord, the great Creator (or possibly the Wise One), has a most Bountiful, or most Holy Spirit, who is sometimes identical with Him.

Yasna xxviii. 1 :

With hands outstretched I beseech for the first blessing of Thy most Bounteous (or holy) Spirit.<sup>4</sup>

See also Yasna i. 1 :

I invoke, and I will complete my sacrifice to Ahura Mazda, the Creator, the radiant, the glorious, the greatest and the best, the most firm, who sends His joy-creating grace afar, who made us and has fashioned us, who has nourished and protected us, who is the most bountiful (the most holy) Spirit.

In the seven Bountiful (or holy) Immortals (the Amshaspends of literature) we have a union which reminds us of the Sabellian Trinity (Yasht xiii. 82) :

We sacrifice to the redoubted guardian spirits of the Bountiful Immortals who are glorious, whose look itself has power (their look produces what they wish), who are lofty and coming on to help us, who are swiftly strong and divine, everlasting and holy, who are Seven,\* and all of one thought, and of one word, and of one deed, whose thought is the same, whose word is the same, and whose deeds are the same, who have one Father and Commander, Ahura Mazda; each of whom sees the other's soul revolving good thoughts, thinking of good words, contemplating good actions, whose abode is the Home of Sublimity (or Song), and shining are their paths as they come down to us to offering.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> About B. C. 700-900 or greatly earlier.

\* Literary confusion—; the word should be six, without Ahura.

<sup>5</sup> Say B. C. 300-100, or —?

While they are thus unified, Ahura Mazda being included within their number, they are yet separate. Vohu Manah is the divine benevolence, the good mind of the Deity, likewise alive within His saints, and later personified as a separate archangel, while even in the Gāthas it represents the holy or correct citizen. Asha the Vedic Rita, is the divine Order, the symmetry and perfection in the ritual and the soul, and at the same time a poetically personified archangel. Khshathra is His sovereign power realized in a kingdom of righteousness, and yet also poetically personified. Aramaiti, our piety, the Active mind, the inspiring energy of the Deity first thought of as the "ploughing of agriculture," and from this latter called the "earth" in both Veda and Avesta, as against the theft-murder schemes of the raiding Turks. She is also in figurative conception God's daughter, and this even in the Gāthas, where the only other similar relation made use of in this manner is that of "Father," for the Fire is "God's Son" only in the later Avesta.

She is also implanted within the minds of the faithful as a divine inspiration. Haurvatāt is God's Perfection as consummated through His foregoing Truth, Love, Power and Vital Energy, while the name is borrowed, or promoted from the Haurvatāt "wholesomeness," i. e., the "success" of man. It was God's completeness like that of man's as reflected in the body's health, then soon perfected in their weal of soul and mind as well as of body, an idea evidently necessary to the roundness of the scheme; while Ameretatāt is their Immortality, Death's absence, a veritable victory over it began in its long postponement to old age here, which last was indeed the original point of the word, but continued in eternal Deathlessness in a future state.

From the second to the seventh they are personified thoughts sent forth from the mind of God to ennoble and redeem His people. That the general description of such an important conception as this, lying as it does at the logical root of Zoroastrianism, should have become known to the Jews of the Captivity and to their descendants before the date of some, if not of all, the Exilic Prophets, is scarcely less than certain. The Greeks themselves heard of them, and in their deepest and purest sense, before the date of Daniel; see the invaluable passage in Plutarch, evidently reproducing the ideas of Theopompus, also cited by me elsewhere. If the priests of Cyrus conferred to the smallest degree with those of Ezra, then not only the Gnostics felt its influence, but the pre-Christian and Christian theology. And in the Book of Tobit, which also contains prominently the name of an Avesta demon, we have an allusion to these

seven Spirits (chap. xii. 15). So also in Zechariah (iv. 10) we have the seven which are as the eyes of the Lord, and which run to and fro throughout the whole earth; and this is further expanded in Rev. v. 6:

And I saw in the midst of the throne a lamb standing as though it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth.

How sublime this all becomes when we look at it in the light of separate unassisted and unarrested growth.

[Negative arguments drawn from the absence of the named "Seven," also from the absence of the name of Angra Mainyu from the Inscriptions are the mistakes of non-experts; as each is equally absent from large portions of the Avesta, and no inference can be drawn from their absence from the Inscriptions, while the prominence of the ideas, at least as expressed in the names of the Ameshaspends, is illustrated by the fact that two of them are combined in the name of the Emperor Artakhshatra, which is *Asha* (*Arsha*) plus *Khshathra*, while, as I have just noticed, the name of the large Eastern province, which we call Harachosia (?sic), or Arachosien, is purely and simply *Harauvati* on Behistûn and on N. R.; that is to say; it is the Av. *Ha(u)rvatât*, Sanskrit *Sarvatâti*, the fifth Ameshaspand; see also *Arminiya*, adj. *Armenia*, which recalls *Aramati*, the fourth Amesha.

Mithra and Anahita too seem to have stepped bodily out of the Avesta, while the Demon *Druj* under the other Avesta form of *drauga* = *draogha* = "the Lie," is present, but occurs most prominently under its verbal form, etc. Many turns of speech are strikingly common to the Avesta and the Inscriptions.

We must also never forget that the Achæmenian Inscriptions, while extensive as sculptured writings, are yet necessarily very circumscribed when regarded as "literature."]

Then as to the attributes of God more definitely considered. He is *our Creator* (see above), and perhaps also, in a theological sense, *sovereign* (Yasna xxix. 4) in *S. B. E.* xxxi, and in the Gathâs:

The Great Creator is most mindful of the utterances or commands which have been fulfilled beforehand hitherto by demon-gods and by men, and of those which shall be fulfilled by them hereafter. He, Ahura, is the discerning arbiter, so shall it be to us as He shall will (see also Y. xxxi. 14<sup>o</sup>). He is *omniscient* (see Y. xxxi. 13, 14<sup>o</sup>). He is our *lawgiver* (Y. xxxi. 11<sup>o</sup>) and teacher (Y. xxxi. 5; Y. xxxii. 13<sup>o</sup>). He will establish a *kingdom* (Y. xxviii. 4<sup>o</sup>). It is for the *poor* (Y. xxxiv. 3<sup>o</sup>). "What is your kingdom, what

\* These passages may be placed at about 700 to 900 B. C.

are your riches, that I may become your own in my actions with the righteous order, and thy good mind, to care for your poor?" (Y. liii. 9).<sup>6</sup> O Mazda, Thine is the Kingdom, and by it Thou bestowest the highest of blessings on the right-living poor." It is endangered, and yet in the end *victorious*. It has a propaganda (Y. xxxi. 3).<sup>6</sup> "With tongue of thy mouth do thou speak, that I may make all the living believers." God is our *friend, protector, strengthener, and unchangeable* (Y. xxxi. 7).<sup>6</sup> "These, O Spirit, mayst thou cause to prosper, Thou who art for every hour the same." He is our *Judge* (Y. xlii. 4).<sup>6</sup> There is a day or period of judgment (Y. xliii. 5, 6). "Yea, I conceived of Thee as Bounteous, O Ahura Mazda, when I beheld Thee as supreme in the actions of life, when, as rewarding deeds and words, Thou didst establish evil for the evil, and blessings for the good by Thy great virtue in the creation's final change. In which last changing Thou shalt come, and with Thy bounteous Spirit, and thy sovereign power (see also Y. xlv. 19)."

Then as to the description of Satan; while criticism casts its doubt upon the presence of Satan in the serpent of Genesis, we gather from the Genesis of the Avesta that the Scriptural reptile may well be recognized as that old Serpent the Devil. A serpent tempts in Genesis, and the consequence is sin and the expulsion from Eden. In the Vendidad, the Evil Spirit opposes every good object of creation, and the implied consequence is an expulsion.

Vendidad I. Ahura Mazda said unto Zarathushtra Spitama:

I, O Zarathushtra Spitama, made the first best place, which is Airyana Vaëjah; thereupon Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit) created a counter creation, a serpent in the river, and frost made by the demons. . . . The third place which I, Ahura Mazda, made the best was Moûru; thereupon Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit) created a counter creation, which was backbiting and lust. . . . The fifth place which I, Ahura Mazda, made the best was Nisâya; thereupon, in opposition to it, Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit), full of death, created a counter creation, which was the curse of unbelief. . . . As the seventh best place I, who am Ahura Mazda, created Vaëkereta. . . . thereupon, in opposition to it, Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit), full of death, created the evil fairy who clave to Keresaspa. . . . As the ninth place, I, who am Ahura Mazda, created Kheñta as the best. . . . thereupon Añgra Mainyu (the Evil Spirit) created a counter creation, the inexpiable deed of Sodomy<sup>7</sup>. . . . etc.

These memorable fragments must have struck the attention of every learned scribe who heard them; and they must have been constantly repeated in greatly varied forms. They may well have helped to mould Jewish and Christian expressions.

Then the Asmodeus of the Book of Tobit (iii. 8, 17) is positively the Aeshma-daëva of the Avesta, and Aeshma was the wrath-demon of invasion (see Yasna xlvi. 7, etc.). The apparent and superficial variations between the Zoroastrian and the Jewish conception of the

<sup>6</sup> These passages may be placed at about 700 to 900 B. C.

<sup>7</sup> About 500 to 300 B. C.; so certainly in its main prior elements.

relation between the Deity and Satan are, of course, to be expected, but we should not allow their approximating resemblance to blind our eyes to the real difference.

[It would be a clumsy history of philosophy which would allow the present noble monotheism of the Parsis to cheat us of the speculatively precious element of dualism as it exists in their genuine writings. Whether the ideas which lay at the root of the doctrine of dualism were true or false, and whether the Jewish pre-Christian thought was infected with them or not, that post-Christian dogma was filled to repletion with diabolic demonism, though this was obviously still under the power of the exorcising Saviour, and therefore perhaps not an item within a true Dualism strictly speaking in the Zarathushtrian sense; but I very seriously raise the question whether the Jewish writers of the Old Testament earlier or late at all really believed that their *Jahveh Elohim* was (*sic*) the creator of either Satan, or of Baal, or of any of the Demon-Gods. We know indeed that they accredited the existence of these latter as a matter only too emphatically real, and by no means uninterruptedly regarded them as being altogether creatures of the imagination; see the frequent comparison of them with *Jahveh Elohim*. But when, and in so far as, they thus believed them to be really existing beings, in how far did they then suppose the *Jahveh Elohim* to have been their original creator, either bringing them into existence as being holy in their nature before a fall like Satan's, or causing them to arise as being *originally* of evil character? The question is very serious. The foolish relief offered us by the doctrine that *Jahveh Elohim*, as God the Father, was not responsible for the fall of beings whom He foresaw would become evil when He created them, is no longer available, and could not have long continued to satisfy any sober-minded sage. But if the leading Jews in large numbers thus in due sequence unconsciously or openly rejected the view that God created the Evil Gods of their enemies—directly or indirectly, in any shape or chain of causality or responsibility whatsoever; then the ancient Israelites were in verity, though they were not consciously, *dualists*, not far indeed from the type of Zarathushtra;—they held to the existence of a Being, or Beings, who was, or who were, originally evil, and so, to an original evil principle, which is dualism—and that dualism remains one of the most interesting suggestions which have ever been presented, and one indeed which, in its elements, if not in its detail, is still unconsciously but largely followed.<sup>8</sup>]

<sup>8</sup> What is the present advancing pessimism (so called) but the recognition of the original necessity of evil co-existing with good? The Avesta merely

A fall of man is included in the successive expulsions above related, but we have also in the original Avesta which was written still earlier than the Vendidad a fall of man, or of spiritual beings, distinctly stated (Y. xxx. 3) :

Thus are the primeval spirits which, as a pair, each independent in his actions, have been famed of old, as regards a better and a worse, as to thought, as to word, and as to deed, and between these two, the demons, or their worshipers, could make no righteous choice since theirs was deception. As they were questioning (in their hesitation) the Worst Mind approached them that he might be chosen. Thereupon they rushed together unto the Demon of Rapine, that they might pollute the lives of mortals.<sup>9</sup>

As to *Sotriology*, a virgin conceives. It is not, however, to produce Zarathushtra, but the restoring Saviour of the latter age; nor does she conceive without seed although she is still a virgin. She conceives from the seed of Zarathushtra, which has been miraculously preserved.

The details, which show a gross deterioration from Gãthic times, are presented in their rounded form only in the *Bundahish*, which is perhaps more than a thousand years later than the date of the original passages in the genuine but still later Avesta. "Zarathushtra approached his wife Hvôv. . . the angel Neryosangh received the brilliance and strength of that seed, and delivered it with care to the angel Anâhid, and in time it will blend with a mother. Nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine myriads of the guardian spirits of the saints are intrusted with its protection" (see the *Bundahish*, *S. B. E.*, vol. v, p. 144). It is preserved in the Lake Kâsava till, at the end of the earthly cycle, a maid Eretât-fedhri bathing in the lake will conceive from it, and bring forth the last Saoshyant, or Saviour, while two of his predecessors are similarly engendered. These several items are likewise present in a scattered state in the ancient but still comparatively later Avesta. In Yasht xiii. 142, we read:

We worship the guardian spirit of the holy maid Eretât-fedhri, who is called the all-conquering, for she will bring him forth who will destroy the malice of the demons and of men.<sup>10</sup>

While in Yasht xix. 92, we read that

Astvatereta (the Saviour of the Restoration) will arise from the waters of Kâsava, a friend of Ahura Mazda, a son of Vispataurvi, the all-conquering,

personified what so many of us now accept. Compare even the sublated dualism of Fichte and Hegel, which they, strange to say, may have derived unconsciously through Schelling, Jacob Boehme, and the Gnostics from the Avesta. This remark is suggested by one of Haug's, and confirmed in conversation with a leading specialist. The passage in brackets is an enlarged note.

<sup>9</sup> B. C. 700-900, or earlier.

knowing the victorious knowledge which will make the world progress unto perfection.<sup>10</sup>

And in Yasht xiii. 62, we learn that 9,000 spirits of the faithful watch over the seed of Zoroaster.<sup>11</sup> That we have here the hope of a *virgin-born Redeemer* admits no doubt. Whether such intimations, repeated under various forms, came from the hint of the Israelitish prophets or *vice versa* is of course a question, but that Zoroastrian or Mazda-worshipping Magi, if they came from the East to honor the virgin-born babe of Bethlehem, were familiar with them is certain. And as they expected a virgin-born Saviour themselves it is but reasonable to suppose that this pious hope may well have lain at the foundation of their divine call to discover him who was born "King of the Jews." Then as to the *Temptation*. If our Lord approached that great event in the spirit of wide humanity, one would surmise that He felt some sympathy with sages who had gone before Him in similar signal encounters; and there exists a temptation of Zoroaster of which He may have known through supernatural cognition, and to which for color that of Heracles, for instance, bears no comparison. The myth containing it doubtless expresses in its fragments what was once a real struggle, which, if in any sense saved Zoroastrianism, was one of the world's crises. Zoroaster is besought by the Evil One to abjure the holy Mazdayasnian religion, and to obtain a reward such as an evil ruler got (*Vendidad* xix. 43)<sup>12</sup>:

He shouted, and shouted forth again, he Añgra Mainyu, the evil spirit who is full of death. He pondered, and he pondered widely, the demon of the demons, and he thus said, he who was the evil-minded Añgra Mainyu, "What! will the demons be assembled in an assembly on the top of Arezura,<sup>a</sup> they the wicked, evil-minded?"... They rushed and they shouted,<sup>b</sup> they, the demons, wicked, evil-minded, and with the evil eye: "Let us assemble in an assembly on the top of Arezura, for born indeed is He who is the righteous Zarathushtra of the house of Pourushaspa. Where shall we find destruction for Him? He is the demon's wounder. He is the demon's foe." He is Druj of the Druj (a destroyer of the destroyer). Face downward are the Demon-worshippers, prostrate is the death-demon,<sup>c</sup> and down is the Draogha of the lie."

But (*Vend.* xix. 1) a rally is made. Añgra Mainyu, the evil spirit, coming from the north region of the North, orders the Lie-demon to assault and slay the holy Zarathushtra now no longer just born but

<sup>10</sup> B. C. 300-500; but the repetition of this myth argues its long previous growth through centuries.

<sup>11</sup> Compare this drivel with the grandeur and simplicity of the Gātha, *S. B. E.* xxxi, pp. 1-194.

<sup>12</sup> Say about 300(?). The footnote signs expressed in letters refer in each case to the corresponding analogy in note 17.

in the vigor of his age. The assault is at once repelled by prayer, sacrifices, and the fervent recital of the creed. The demon, frustrated, returns to Añgra Mainyu. She says:

O baneful Evil Spirit, I see no death for Him, for glorious is the righteous Zarathushtra.<sup>6</sup>

Zarathushtra, seeing through their thoughts, says (within himself):

The Demons plot my death, they, evil-doing as they are.<sup>12</sup>

He arose, he went forth<sup>f</sup> uninjured by their plan and the hardness of their words. And Zarathushtra let the Evil Spirit know:<sup>12</sup>

O evil-minded Añgra Mainyu, I will smite the creation made by demons; I will smite the Nasu (putrid demon); I will smite the evil fairy (that seduced the early sages), till the Saviour is born victorious from the waters of Kāsava, from the utmost region of the East.<sup>13</sup>

And Añgra Mainyu answered, and shouting as he spoke:

Slay not my creatures,<sup>g</sup> holy Zarathushtra. Thou art Pourushaspa's son, for from thy birth have I invoked<sup>h</sup> (thee).<sup>b</sup> Renounce the good religion of those who worship Mazda.<sup>1</sup> Obtain the reward<sup>d</sup> which Vadhaghan, the murderous (ruler), gained.

And Zarathushtra answered:

Never shall I abjure the good faith<sup>k</sup> of those who worship Mazda; (no), let not my body, nor my life,<sup>15</sup> nor my senses fly apart.

And to him then shouted the Evil Spirit of the evil world:

With whose word wilt thou thus conquer? With whose word wilt thou abjure? With what weapon as the best formed wilt thou conquer these my creatures?

And Zarathushtra answered:

With the sacred Haoma plant, with the mortar and the cup, with the word which God pronounced.<sup>1</sup> With these my weapons (will I slay thee), they are best. With that word shall I be victor, with that word shall I expel thee,<sup>m</sup> with this weapon as the best made, O evil Añgra Mainyu. The most bounteous Spirit forged it<sup>n</sup>; in boundless time he made it; and the Bountiful Immortals gave it, they who rule aright, who dispose (of all) aright.

And Zarathushtra chanted:

As the higher priest is to (be revered and) chosen, so let the lower chief (the one who serves) from the righteous order, a creator of mental goodness, and of life's actions done for Mazda, and the kingdom<sup>o</sup> is to Ahura, which to the poor may give their nurture.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> A blessed quarter.

<sup>13</sup> First aor. mid.

<sup>15</sup> Other translators introduce an "if" to gain a better meaning, "Not if my body, nor my life, nor my senses fly apart."

<sup>16</sup> The texts cited are all of them metrical, hence the rhythm of the renderings.



Here we may well introduce the closing verse of the chapter (xix. 147):<sup>17</sup>

The demons shouted, the demons rushed, the evil-doing and the wicked; they rushed and they fled to the bottom of the place of darkness; that is, of frightful Hell.<sup>18</sup>

Few Medo-Persian subjects in the streets of Jerusalem being presumably Mazda-worshippers, like their emperors, here lingering in the Persian subject city soon after, or long after the Return, could have failed to know this striking myth; and none who knew it could have failed to tell it, if creeds were at all discussed.

The religion is *subjective*. Holiness is prayed for as well as the outward reward (Y. xxviii. 6); and Avesta is the document here:

O Asha, Angel of the Holy Law, when shall I see thee, knowing the Good Mind and Obedience, and finding the way to Ahura (or "Ahura's throne")?

We now come upon something which has the strongest claims upon our attention. Whereas much else in Zoroastrianism may present the analogies of an older but still sister religion, we have as to one great particular what all must acknowledge to be in a special sense a prior revelation in the Persian Bible. I fear we too little realize how very uncertain the doctrine of a future life was in the minds of pious Jews, even at the time of our Lord. The Sadducees, as we understand, believed in neither "angel, nor spirit, nor resurrection," and the Sadducees shared the power with the Pharisees; in fact, they seemed to have possessed greater social prestige, and several princely high priests were of their clique. It seems to many of us most curious that the sect among the ancient people of God, which especially claimed the title of purists and sticklers for the ancient Pentateuch, should have been absolute disbelievers in what are now widely regarded as the fundamental principles of religion. If such a state of things existed at the time of our Lord, when both the doctrine of immortality and that of resurrection had long been familiar as theories, what must have been the condition of opinion on these subjects while the influence of the Pentateuch, in which these doc-

<sup>17</sup> For detailed analogies, which are not close, recall perhaps <sup>(a)</sup>"the exceeding high mountain"; <sup>(b)</sup>"cried with a loud voice: My name is Legion"; <sup>(c)</sup>"Art thou come hither to destroy us?"; <sup>(d)</sup>"Death and Hell shall be cast into the Lake that burneth"; <sup>(e)</sup>"The Holy One"; <sup>(f)</sup>"was led up into the wilderness to be tempted of the Devil"; <sup>(g)</sup>"And the Devils besought Him," etc.; <sup>(h)</sup>"I know Thee Who Thou art"; <sup>(i)</sup>"All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me"; <sup>(j)</sup>"I will give Thee this authority"; <sup>(k)</sup>"Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God"; <sup>(l)</sup>"It is written"; <sup>(m)</sup>"Get thee hence"; <sup>(n)</sup>"The sword of the Spirit which is the word of God"; <sup>(o)</sup>"Him only shalt thou serve"; <sup>(p)</sup>"Then the Devil leaveth Him; "into the abyss."

trines were not distinctly revealed at all, was as yet not affected by the large addition to canonical Scripture made later? And first as to immortality in itself considered.

Heaven and Hell were chiefly *mental states*, especially in the earliest Avesta (Y. xxx. 4):

The two spirits came together at the first, and determined how life at the last shall be ordered for the wicked (Hell), the worst life; for the holy the best mind (Heaven).

Rewards and punishments are *self-induced* (Y. xxxi. 20):

And this, which is such a life as your own, O ye vile, your own deeds have brought you (Y. xlvi. 11): Cursed by their souls and selves, their being's nature, for ever in the Home of Lies their bodies rest.<sup>18</sup>

In Vendidad xix. 30, the soul is met on its arrival after death at the Chinvat, or Judge's, Bridge by a female form accompanied with dogs,<sup>19</sup> and in Yasht xxii. we learn who this female was. It was none other than the believer's *conscience*. The figure presents the typical features of female attractiveness; she is beautiful, she is noble, and in the flower of her youth. "What maiden art thou," he asks her, "who art the most beautiful of maidens that ever I have seen?" And she, who is his conscience, answers: "I am verily, O youth, thy conscience, thy good thoughts, and words, and deeds, thy very own." But he asks her, "Who hath desired thee hither with his love, coming with thy majesty, thy goodness, and thy beauty, triumphant and an enemy of grief?" And she answers: "Thou hast loved me and desired me hither, O youth, even thy good thoughts, and words, and deeds. For when thou sawest idol-worship. . . thou didst desist, chanting the Gāthas, and sacrificing to the good waters and to Ahura Mazda's fire, contenting the righteous saint who came to thee from near and from afar. It is thus that thou hast made me, who am lovely, still more lovely, and me who am beautiful hast thou made still more beautiful, and thou hast made me who am beatified still more beatified. . . through thy good thoughts, and words, and deeds." (Here we may observe, in passing, the same element of pleased surprise which we have in the sublimer Matthew xxv. 37; the soul is incredulous: "When saw we Thee a hungered and fed Thee?" and the answer is, "Thou hast fed and lodged Me," so here there is surprise; "who hath desired thee hither with his love?" And the answer is, "Thou hast; for thou didst content<sup>20</sup> the righteous man coming from near and from afar.") As the soul proceeds further,

<sup>18</sup> The earlier Avesta. "Sadducees" were named from one Zadok, but the name means "just."

<sup>19</sup> Related to Cerberus.

<sup>20</sup> The later Zoroastrianism explains "lodged and entertained."

it passes the Judge's Bridge and comes before the golden throne, where the Good Mind is seated (Vend. xix. 31). He rises to meet the soul, and welcomes it: "When didst thou come hither from that perishable world to this imperishable world?" and the saints who have passed away before him ask him the same: "How long was thy salvation?" Then said Ahura Mazda, "Ask him not what thou askest of that cruel way which is the dividing of the soul and body" (Yasht xxii.). And the first step, as he advances, places him in the entrance of the threefold Heaven, which is again the Good Thought, and the second step places him in the Good Word, and the third in the Good Deed.<sup>21</sup> Then the soul passes on contented to the souls of the saints, to the golden throne of Ahura Mazda, and to the golden thrones of the Bountiful Immortals, and to the abode of Sublimity (or Song), even to the home of Ahura Mazda and the other Immortals<sup>22</sup> (Vend. xix. 33). A corresponding evil spirit awaits the wicked; a hideous female is his conscience, the wicked and Añgra Mainyu mock him, and he rushes at last into the Hell of evil thoughts, and words, and deeds.

Few scientific theologians will deny that the *doctrine of immortality* was scarcely mooted before the later Isaiah, that is, before the Captivity, while the Zoroastrian scriptures are one mass of spiritualism, referring all results to the heavenly or infernal worlds. As to the unending futurity of the Zoroastrian heaven, if such a point needs proof, recall the epithets which describe its features; "for ever and ever" of itself suffices.<sup>23</sup> And this phrase, together with many similar ones, renders it incontrovertible that Ameretatāt—Immortality—as one of the six personified attributes of the Deity, did not represent long life alone, but never-dying life.

*Corporeal resurrection* seems to be placed after the reception of souls into Heaven as if they returned later to a purified earth.

As to this doctrine,—which is, properly speaking, as of course, not identical with that of "immortality," but which may be fairly said to be closely associated with it,—aside from the constant implication of it throughout, we have in Fragment IV, "Let Añgra Mainyu, the evil spirit, be hid beneath the earth, let the Daêvas disappear, let the dead arise, and let bodily life be sustained in these now lifeless bodies."<sup>24</sup> And, in Yasht xix. 83, we have resurrection

<sup>21</sup> A perhaps misunderstood echo of this is Rev. xxii. 11: He that is unrighteous, let him be unrighteous still; and he that is filthy let him be filthy still."

<sup>22</sup> About B. C. 300.

<sup>23</sup> Discussed by me elsewhere.

<sup>24</sup> These passages may be placed within three centuries B. C.; the date of the Gāthas alone is fixed at 700-900 B. C.

together with millennial perfections. "We sacrifice unto the Kingly Glory which shall cleave unto the victorious Saviour and His companions, when He shall make the world progress unto perfection, and when it shall be never dying, not decaying, never rotting, ever living, ever useful, having power to fulfil all wishes, when the dead shall arise, and immortal life shall come, when the settlements shall all be deathless." Contrast this with the earlier Scriptural passages, void as they are of any genuine statement of this essential dogma. Compare these then with statements which appear after the return from the Captivity, a captivity during which the tribes had come in contact with a great religion in which the passages cited describe a predominant tendency. What do we find in them? First, we have the jubilant hope expressed by the later Isaiah: "Let thy dead live, let my dead body arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast forth the shades." And then the full statement in Daniel: "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." And yet God's people, as we have seen above, had not fully accepted the meaning of this language even at the time of Christ. We draw the inference—*the religion of the Jews was originally Sadducaic.*

Such then are the historical literary facts,—uncontested for the most part, the great mass of them (see above), and also incontestable; and this, whatsoever may be their possible, or impossible, exterior historical connection, or disconnection, with the Hebrew theology, or our own. The points deduced from them clearly show that they contain the very most essential elements of "*our own religion*" in its advanced, if still formative, condition, from the date of the Captivity or before the time of Christ, and after the Restoration from the Exile. Let us collect the points for our convenience from the copious citations made above. First of all there was *A(r)sha* the Holy Law of Truth as to thought, word and deed, this being, however, rather a universal "persuasive principle" than a "doctrine." Next to this was *God's Unity*; then *His Creationism* of all Beings; then an *Angelic Host*, of both exalted and inferior Spirits; then *His Sovereignty*—*Divine Omnipotence*—which includes *Omniscience*; then *His Benevolence*—*God's love*—(His justice is included within the first); then *His inspiring energy* (compare the Holy Ghost)—with the result of *Universal Weal*, for the Righteous; then *Deathlessness*, which is God's *Eternity* and man's *Immortality*. A *Judgment* follows, both individual and general, which takes place—first in the *judged man's soul*, then in everlasting happiness in

various detail *in Heaven*, or upon a renewed and purified earth. A *Millennium* of terrestrial Perfection ensues with a restoring Saviour who is to be "*Virgin born*," and, perhaps a "Seventh Heaven" corresponding to the Seven Immortals. For the evil, a corresponding *Hell* exists in equal grades, with the most pronounced Satan of all literature. These are, as I need not repeat, the vital essentials of our own religion as it existed in its earlier stages in the Exilic period during and after the Captivity, and before Christ, being conspicuously manifested in the orthodox Pharisaism, while these elements existed in the Persian documents for unknown previous ages; see the Veda everywhere.<sup>25</sup> It can now be more plainly seen why I used the expression "Our Own Religion in Ancient Persia." Contrary, however, to many acute and able searchers, I hold that the two forms of this same religion were originally each of separate origin; see again above and below,—each being a regular spontaneous and parallel development from unchanging universal laws, proving the original Man-Unity, and strongly supporting the view that it was impossible to prevent the origin and development of similar ideas, entirely aside from all borrowing of them from one nation to another. But while I hold that these parallel views arose from "parallel development" having been caused by the disastrous afflictions of the Captivity, I lay no illogical straw in the way of those who hold to the view that the doctrines were, under God, taught directly to the Jews by their Persian protectors. In fact I would strenuously repeat, and with emphasis, what I wrote in 1894, viz., the principle, that any, or all of the historical, doctrinal, or hortative statements recorded in the Old or the New Testament might, while fervently believed to be inspired by the Divine Power, be yet freely traced, if the facts would allow of it, to other religious systems for their mental initiative;—that the historical origin of particular doctrines or ideas which are expressed in the Old or the New Testament does not touch the question of their inspiration, plenary or otherwise; that for instance as St. Paul freely discloses his mental peculiarities, and (as to citations) quotes a poet of his youth, so our Lord himself also reveals a mental constitution, and to a certain degree expressed, as all others express them, the convictions and enthusiasms which he has absorbed from earlier associations. And still more than this, unless we are prepared to accede to a docetic heresy, doubting the very reality of our Saviour's human nature, every sentiment of veneration ought to induce us to trace.

<sup>25</sup> Further citations on the contents of the Vedas will be given later in another article by the author on "Veda and Avesta."

if it be possible to trace them, not only the fountainheads of His human convictions but the supplying rills of His expression. If we carefully study the genealogy of His body, with how much greater earnestness should we examine that of his mind! For it was His thoughts, humanly speaking, and sometimes His earlier ones, which not only constituted a part of His momentous history, but, of course, also actually determined His career. In the source of His thoughts, therefore, the great motives of His subsequent history are to be sought for. Recall, for instance, what I also have just alluded to above in the citations as to the recorded experiences of the Persian Saint; as, for instance, He was gathering up his resolves for such a mental scene as that described in the fourth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, in which he purposed to meet in one decisive encounter a spiritual power which, as He believed, was threatening His creation, if there had been anything memorable of a similar kind in the experiences of prophets of kindred religions, and if they were known to Him by the exercise of a supernatural insight<sup>26</sup> it does not seem to me to be at all deniable that such preceding "*temptations*" (as He revolved them, with all that they signified) influenced Him. If He possessed that larger intellect which could see over the trivial paraphernalia of superstition, and look at the soul struggling in its sincerity for spiritual life, and for the spiritual lives of many who revered it, then if He were a man beyond the common measure, this must have moved Him. It would seem, therefore, to be a very pious act to search diligently for everything which Christ hallowed by His notice, and it would seem a very mistaken religious sentiment which would arrest one in such a course.

The most obvious place to search for the doctrines and opinions amid which our Lord grew up, has been, of course, the Jewish literature of His period, and of that which preceded His appearance. This has been examined to a considerable extent, and much of the greatest interest has been brought to light. The theologies of Egypt should be also examined as well as those of Greece and Rome. From India we have what seem a throng of rich analogies from the Buddhist Scriptures, but our highest authorities upon the subject are, or were, inclined to doubt the possibility of the historical later connection. There remains then this ancient Persian theology; and here, as we have seen, the later historical connection, amounts, at one stage of it at least, to historical identity,—it is as such, I believe, universally recognized. Cyrus took Babylon, say, about the year 539 B. C., and with it the Jewish slave colony, whose inhabi-

<sup>26</sup> See the Talmud article by Dr. Deutsch. (*Remains*, 1874.)

tants continued to be Persian citizens till the Achæmenian power broke. Jeremiah, foreseeing this future invasion of the dominant and restless Medo-Persian, thundered his anathemas against his Semitic Babylonian oppressors in view of it; the "Kings of the Medes" were to avenge him, and in due course did so, and later sent the Jewish people, back from their captivity, rebuilding the Holy City when it had become a "heap," decreeing also the restoration of the Temple, the later Isaiah speaking in most astonishing terms of this restorer. The Book of Nehemiah discloses further scenes with Persian monarchs; section after section of the Bible dates from their reigns, while Magian<sup>27</sup> priests, who were of the religion of Cyrus, came later to do honor to the Son of Mary, and one of the last words uttered by Christ upon the Cross was in the Persian tongue.<sup>28</sup> The fact that Cyrus may have coquetted politically with the Babylonian priesthood, if it be a fact, is one which redounds somewhat to his credit and corroborates our argument. How much better that he should show some respect to the religion of his fallen enemies who now became fully acquiescent in their submission, than to crush them all wholesale with the usual slaughter. Were it even true that he was accurately depicted upon a stele as present at the worship of one of their chief deities, this would be but one proof the more of his considerate courtesy. He did not conquer to annihilate.

Whether the precise form of Mazda worship present on the Inscriptions was that of Zoroaster exactly or not is just at this point of our inquiries again a question which we need only glance at, as it is of little moment.<sup>29</sup> It seems likely, indeed, that it was an especially original form of Mazda worship. But whether this were the fact or not, it must have possessed the main features which have been more or less preserved to us in the Zend Avesta. The word *Mazda* (strictly *-dah*), meaning "the Great Creator," or "the Great Wise One," is an especially well-adapted name for God, much more so than our own name for Him, being the name used for Him by that great Mazda worshiper, who, under the providence of God, determined the entire later history of the Jewish people. For had Cyrus, the Mazda worshiper, not brought the people back, the later prophets

<sup>27</sup> The word "Magian" is with little doubt Avestic; the *Maga* was "the Holy Cause," occurring repeatedly in the Gâthas; the changed suffix *u* in *Magu* is of no importance, and the *o* of the Avestic *moghu* results from epenthesis, cf. *vohu* for *vahu*, Sk. *vasu*; *gh* also = Gâthic *g*. *Maga*, as being pre-Gâthic by centuries, may have been carried down to Akkad by Turanians, cf. Y. 46, 12.

<sup>28</sup> Luke xxiii. 43.

<sup>29</sup> See my remark in vol. xxxi, *S. B. E.*, Introduction, p. 30.

might not have spoken at Jerusalem, nor might Jesus have been born at Bethlehem, nor taught in the region. Indeed, the influence of the Great Restorer and his successors over the city was so positive that in the opinion of even popular religious writers Jerusalem was for a considerable period after the Return in many respects "a Persian city." Many indeed have been the erroneous statements made by well-meaning tyros in Christian pulpits, as by myself too, once among them, with regard to the "impossibility" of all later connections between our great doctrines and analogous truths once held by nations foreign to the Jews who may yet have been brought into connection with them; and the fervent novice may well be pardoned if, in his first sincere efforts, he is too decided in a negative sense; but in men of maturer years let us hope for better things. For surely—to be sentimental, if only for a moment,—let us recall that the first object of religion next after the suppression of unlawful violence or appropriation should be the suppression of inaccurate statement, and to deny without any effort to become an expert what every expert knows to be the truth is, so it seems to me, to commit a crime in the name of Christianity for which Christianity will be one day called upon to account. It is therefore to help the Church against well-furnished gainsayers, and to re-establish her character for conscientious investigation, that Christian specialists in Orientalism have given the best years of their life,—to save the endeared religion which once inculcated every honorable principle from continuing herself to be the victim if not the agent of that most sinister of equivocations known as "pious fraud."<sup>50</sup>

My procedure is thus, I trust, now clear to all. The connection between Persia and Israel has been found to approach identity, as was only to be expected, from the fact that the two nationalities, if indeed the Jewish could really be called a nationality, were parts of the same empire for close on, or more than two(?) hundred years. And this being a fact unquestioned *a posteriori*, so the doctrinal analogies were as probable *a priori* as presuppositions, as they have been proved to be historically actual through our Oriental research. And with this, note the unparalleled expressions of theological sympathy. If we have found a pictorial sculpture representing Cyrus as worshipping in a Babylonian temple, a sort of political manifesto,—and, if we regard this as showing clearly a strong leaning toward the Babylonian Baal-worship, what shall we say as to the astonishing language of this same Cyrus, with that of Darius, and Artaxerxes

<sup>50</sup> To emphasize such a point should be hardly our secondary object throughout such discussions as the present.



recorded in our Bibles, re-reading also what the Jewish prophets and historians have left written in response to it.

I hardly think that anything of their kind approaches these extended statements in the history of literature, as an expression of religious identity of feeling between two peoples similarly situated, or even more closely connected, certainly not at their date; that is, not, when all the other circumstances are held in view. Recollect that the Bible is beyond all other documents regarded as hyper-sacrosanct, and by nearly, or quite one-third of the human race,—even skeptics as to its detail acknowledging harmoniously its unspeakable influence—then re-read attentively what the Bible records of its own great Jewish-Persian emperors.

This then is our view: During the shock and sorrows of the Captivity God's people turned their thoughts from earth to Heaven,—just as we often do,—for the eventualities had proved that the temporal rewards so persistently promised to the righteous, had in some way, and for the time being, proved illusory. Then came their Deliverer with his thronging hosts, and with a change in their immediate circumstances which might well have reassured them that the Psalmist had indeed “never seen the righteous forsaken”; see above. And also that very same enormous event, which might well have convinced them that this world should at last show them better times as a reward for their fidelity, actually itself brought with it the same settled and worked-out doctrine of *another life* which the Jews had just acquired, but which had been believed in from their birth by those same large masses recruited from all parts of the Iranian empire, while priests of this Immortality accompanied every battalion, or made many groups of them for each corps, with an illustrious King of Kings at the head of all of them, who never dictated a word for an Inscription without attributing every victory to the “Life-Spirit-Lord, the Great Creator, Auramazda”; see Bahistûn and elsewhere. What wonder then, as I have already implied, that the Jews listened to the unconscious expressions of their new-formed friends, whose fire altars at times glowed at evening everywhere, and that, listening, they began the more to eye with these Persian fellow-believers in the hopes and fears of what was now the common Faith,—and so the doctrine grew. While the more conservative party amidst the Jews, that of the Zadokians, (the Sadducees) clung with aristocratic tenacity to the old simplicity, and opposed this growing Zoroastrianism of the masses;—yet the new views, adapted as they were to appeal to the feelings of an afflicted humanity, *prevailed*, having first concentrated themselves in a sect

which termed itself, or which was termed by its indignant predecessors *Pharisees*, *Farsees*, *Persians*,<sup>81</sup> hardly "separatists," "dividers."<sup>82</sup> So that, at the time of Christ, it could be said, and upon His own authority, that "the Scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses's seat," and it was from Him "who lived a Pharisee" that our own future hopes were chiefly handed down to us.

To sum up the whole matter in a single word, I would say, as if speaking from the orthodox point of view, that while the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are unrivalled in their majesty and fervor, constituting perhaps the most impressive objects of their kind known to the human mind, and fully entitled to be described as "inspired," yet the greatly more widely-extended, and as to certain particulars, long prior religion of the Mazda worshipers was supremely useful in giving point and body to many loose conceptions among the Jewish religious teachers, and doubtless also in introducing many good ideas which were entirely new, while as to the doctrines of immortality and resurrection, the most important of all, it certainly assisted and confirmed, though it did not positively originate belief.

But the greatest and by far the noblest service which it rendered was the quasi-origination and propagation of the doctrine that "virtue is chiefly its own reward," even in the great religious reckoning, and "vice its own punishment."

The time is now past, let us hope for ever, when the Christian apologist recoiled from recognizing the very important services which have been rendered to the holy faith by peoples foreign to the Jews. And surely no one will look askance at the happy fact that not only a small nation to the west of the Jordan held to those great truths on which rest our hopes beyond the grave, but that the teeming millions of Persia also held to them in successive generations *long earlier than the prophets*. These considerations entitle their ancient lore to our veneration and investigation. It now lies open not merely to the laborious specialist but to the intelligent student, and it is to be hoped that from the mass of human energy devoted to so much that is trivial, some effort may be spared for the study of this rich and influential monument of the past which holds such a conspicuous place among the records of our own religious history.

<sup>81</sup> The modern name of the original Province of Persia is *Farsistan*.

<sup>82</sup> It is bad etymology to trace words to an abstract.

## CHRISTIANITY AS THE PLEROMA.

BY THE EDITOR.

[CONCLUDED.]

### THE PAGANISM OF ANCIENT ISRAEL.

WE have so far spoken of Judaism as a known quantity and have used the terms "Jews" and "Gentiles" in their traditional meaning to express a contrast which was well established at the beginning of the Christian era; but Judaism has a history. For the sake of understanding how the new faith, though it had to be Gentile in character, could profit by becoming affiliated with the Jews, we must first acquaint ourselves with the nature of this remarkable people.

Judaism is a unique phenomenon in history. It is the product of contradictory tendencies which have been hardened in the furnace of national misfortune. The religion of the Jews combines the universalism of a monotheistic faith with the narrowness of a nationalism which localizes God and regards the Jews as the elect, the chosen people. Judaism is therefore characterized by a certain precocious maturity. At a time when monotheism was an esoteric doctrine in countries such as Egypt and Babylonia, a kind of philosophy of the educated classes, the Jews had adopted it as their national religion. Yet the revelations of this one and sole God, of the creator and ruler of the universe, were thought to have taken place in a very human way, and bloody sacrifices were still offered in the old pagan fashion at the altar of Jerusalem, which alone was declared to be the legitimate spot to approach God. Some antiquated and barbarous institutions such as circumcision and other requirements of the so-called Mosaic law were enforced, and the purity of Jewish blood, to the exclusion of the Gentiles as impure, was vigorously insisted on.

The history of Judaism is a long story which is of great importance for the development of Christianity.

We have reason to believe that the religion of ancient Israel was quite similar in belief and moral principles to the religions of the surrounding Gentiles. Yahveh (or as the name is now erroneously pronounced, Jehovah) was worshiped by other nations before the Israelites began to pray to him; it was Moses who adopted the Yahveh cult not from his own ancestors, not from Abraham or Jacob, the patriarchs of Israel, but from Jethro his Gentile father-in-law, a Kenite priest in the district of Mount Horeb in the Sinai peninsula.

Israel's God Yahveh was not very different from other gods. He demanded human sacrifices as they did and was originally the protector of his own people, a tribal deity. According to the Bible the Children of Israel despoiled the Egyptians at the express command of Yahveh and slaughtered the inhabitants of conquered cities in his honor just as did the Moabites in honor of their god Khemosh. According to the word (i. e., the command) of Yahveh did Hiel lay the foundations of Jericho in Abiram his firstborn and set up the gates thereof in Segub, his youngest son (1 Kings xvi. 34), while Jephthah sacrificed his daughter because he believed that Yahveh, the God of Israel, demanded it.

We know also that the patriarchs had idols, or *teraphim*,<sup>1</sup> for we learn incidentally that Rachel stole the images of her father (Gen. xxxi. 34). Even David, the hero of Israel, had such statues in his own house, for we read that when Saul sent messengers to slay David, his wife Michal helped him to escape by placing the figure of their house god<sup>2</sup> in his bed to mislead the King's messengers (1 Sam. xix. 12-17). The prophet Hosea (iii. 4) mentions the use of these idols, the *teraphim*, together with the Urim and Thummim, the Ephod and the Stone Pillar,<sup>3</sup> as an indispensable part of the religion of Israel.

Ancient Israel was not monotheistic. Yahveh was originally one god among other gods but the patriotic Israelite was required to worship him alone. When the Israelites were saved from the

<sup>1</sup> תְּרָפִים

<sup>2</sup> The definite article is used תְּרָפִים הַאֲלוֹהִים which proves that it was a definite piece of furniture in their house, not an idol that by accident happened to be there.

<sup>3</sup> מִצְבֵּה

power of Egypt, Moses glorified Yahveh in a hymn in which he exclaimed: "Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods?"

There are many passages in the historical books which imply that it is deemed quite proper for Gentiles to worship their gods, but the Israelite is expected to worship Yahveh alone, the national god of the people.

Yahveh was worshiped in Israel under the form of a bull even in the days of the prophet Elijah. The subject is incidentally mentioned in Professor Cornill's *History of the People of Israel*, p. 127, where he says: "In this connection the fact is highly noteworthy, and yet is not generally given a clear explanation, that we do not hear a single word of rebuke on this subject from the prophet Elijah. When he denounces Baal in Samaria and Israel, he is simply advocating the 'calves of Dan and Bethel,' the only customary form of worship in the kingdom of Israel, and he himself did not attack it. The view that this whole species of worship was pure heathenism and the worship of God in an image folly and absurdity, is first found in the prophet Hosea and is an outgrowth of prophetic literature."

The temple of Solomon was built according to the plan of the Phœnician temples by Hiram, a Phœnician architect, and no objection was raised because a pagan built the temple of the God of Israel. This fact indicates that in the times of Solomon the Phœnicians were not regarded as idolaters by the Israelites. Even in the days of Manasseh in the seventh century B. C. the temple of Jerusalem was still in possession of all the paraphernalia of solar worship (2 Kings xxiii. 11).

In pre-Exilic times no objection was ever raised to intermarriage with foreigners. Moses married first the daughter of a Kenite and then even an Ethiopian woman, which is commonly interpreted to mean a negress. Solomon was the son of a Hittite woman, and yet he became king of Israel. Schrader points out that even David, now considered the national hero of Israel, was not an Israelite but a Gentile. It is a fact commonly agreed on by Old Testament scholars, and Professor Sayce calls attention to David's appearance described in Samuel (xvi. 12 and again in xvii. 42) as red-haired and of a fair complexion.<sup>4</sup> Schrader thinks that he belonged to the tribes of the Cherithites and Pelethites of whom his body-guard was

<sup>4</sup>The authorized version translates Sam. xvii. 42 "ruddy and of a fair countenance." But the Hebrew word רֹדֶד־יָמִי which is also used of Esau (as already stated by Gesenius) can not designate a ruddy complexion but means "red-haired."

composed. The etymology of Cherethites<sup>5</sup> has been brought into connection with the name of the Cretans and it seems probable that they together with their kinsmen, the Aryan Philistines, must have come from the Greek islands in the Ægean Sea. This would prove David to be an Aryan instead of a Semite. The hostility between Saul and David was not purely personal and it is noteworthy that when David fled before Saul he sought refuge at the court of a Philistine king. The historical truth which Old Testament scholars discover in the contradictory stories of David's life, points to the fact that he was the founder of the tribe of Judah which is mainly a conglomeration of southern clans of Edom, among them Kaleb, Peresh and Zerakh. Schrader (*Keilinschr. u. d. A. T.*, p. 228) says: "That there was no tribe of Judah belonging to Israel before David, can be safely concluded from Biblical sources alone. Further it follows that in prehistoric times Judah did not stand in any relation to the other tribes." David was first chieftain of Kaleb, his capital being Hebron. After a conflict with the kingdom of Saul, David conquered part of the territory of Benjamin incorporating the tribes Peresh and Zerakh. They were formerly regarded as belonging to Benjamin but later were treated as Judeans.

It was natural that later redactors with their tendency to represent David as a Judean and the national hero of Israel, tried to conceal his conflict with Benjamin. Schrader says (*ibid.*, p. 210):

"If the development of the monotheistic doctrine which was proclaimed in Judah-Israel in the name of Yahveh must be assumed to have had its roots in the center of civilization of Hither Asia, then the purpose of the patriarchal legend,—if it pursues at all an historical purpose besides the general one of instruction—can have been only to lay bare the threads which could be traced back to them from Judah. It is not the ethnological genesis of a small pure-blooded nation which is to be described, but the growth of its religion and its world-conception. To be the representative of this world-conception Judah ought to regard as her ideal calling,—although as a matter of fact she neither did nor could so regard it."

#### THE TEMPLE REFORM AND JUDAISM.

Monotheistic tendencies had manifested themselves both in Egypt and in Babylon, but they had remained limited to the educated classes and had not affected the polytheistic service in the temples. In Egypt at the time when the Tel Amarna Tablets were written,

<sup>5</sup> 2. Sam. xv. 18.

the monotheistic reform had tried to influence the religion of the people but had failed utterly. Conditions were more favorable in Persia; there it was a success.

We can not say how much Israel was influenced by these movements, but we know that a purer and deeper conception of God as a god of justice had been prepared through the prophets who denounced social wrongs as well as the abuses of religion in opposition to the established priesthood and aristocracy. The movement spread among those who were zealous for a purification of the official worship of the country and at last exerted a strong hold on the more intelligent priesthood of the capital. The result was the famous temple reform of the year 621 B. C. which may be regarded as the date of the birth of Judaism.

The temple reform was a compromise between the prophetic party and the Jerusalemite priests. The prophetic party denounced worship on the heights, but they looked up to the holy place on Mt. Zion as the national sanctuary and the favorite place of Yahveh, and the priests of Jerusalem were naturally pleased with this view, for it procured for them a religious monopoly.

The prophetic party was greatly respected in Jerusalem on account of a successful prophecy made by Isaiah about a quarter of a century before the temple reform. In the days of King Hezekiah he had glorified Mount Zion as the holy place of Yahveh, and when the Assyrians in their campaign of 702-701 threatened Jerusalem he declared "that the Lord had founded Zion and the poor of his people shall trust in it" (Is. xiv. 32; compare also 2 Kings xix. 31 ff.). Isaiah's confidence was justified by subsequent events for it is reported that "the angel of the Lord smote an hundred four-score and five thousand,"<sup>6</sup> and Sennacherib raised the siege and went home.

It is true that Jerusalem was spared the horrors of pillage and it is possible that the appearance of a sudden epidemic caused the king to lead the army home, but the event was not quite so glorious as it is described in the Bible and as it appeared in later times to the imagination of the Jews, for King Hezekiah remained a vassal of Assyria and Sennacherib had carried into captivity two hundred thousand inhabitants of Judea. It was merely the salvation of a remnant at which the prophet rejoiced, and Hezekiah was thankful that he did not suffer the terrible fate of Samaria.

Sennacherib's account of this same expedition is also preserved in a cuneiform text on a clay cylinder and the passage referring to Judea reads in an English translation thus:

<sup>6</sup> 2 Kings xix. 35; comp. Is. xxxvii. 36.

“Six and forty of the fenced cities, and the fortresses, and the villages round about them, belonging to Hezekiah the Jew, who had not submitted to my rule, I besieged and stormed and captured. I carried away from them two hundred thousand and one hundred and fifty souls, great and small, male and female, and horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen and sheep without number. In his house in Jerusalem I shut up Hezekiah like a bird in a cage. I threw up mounds round about the city from which to attack it, and I blockaded his gates. The cities which I had captured from him I took away from his kingdom and I gave them to Mitinti, king of Ashdod.”

The preservation of Jerusalem is commonly spoken of by orthodox Christians as a mysterious event and a wonderful occurrence, but the main thing is that it was believed to be a miracle by the Jews. This belief had fatal consequences. It made the Jews overconfident in their faith so that they clung to their cause even when there was no hope of success; but while they ruined thereby their national existence, they sunk their nationality in their religion and developed in this way into an international people.

The confidence that the walls of Jerusalem were impregnable because Yahveh would not suffer Zion to fall into the hands of the Gentiles, made the Jews stubborn, so as to render the eventual downfall of Judea an inevitable necessity. The immediate result of the fulfilment of this prophecy was an increase of power for the prophetic party in Jerusalem and thereby they were enabled to carry into effect their momentous plan of a temple reform.

The story of the temple reform is told in 2 Kings xvii-xviii, and we will recapitulate the events leading to it in Professor Cornill's words where, on page 81 of his *Prophets of Israel*, he says:

“The prophetic party, which had apparently not been persecuted for some time, must have kept up secretly a continuous and successful agitation. The priests in the temple of Jerusalem must have been won over to it, or at least influenced by it, and especially must its aspirations have found access to the heart of the young king, who, from all we know of him, was a thoroughly good and noble character.

“The time now appeared ripe for a bold stroke.

“When, in the eighteenth year of Josiah, 621 B. C., Shaphan the scribe paid an official visit to the temple of Jerusalem, the priest Hilkiah handed to him a book of laws which had been found there. Shaphan took the book and immediately brought it to the King, before whom he read it.”

The book was declared to be genuine and on the basis of it the



religion of Judea was newly regulated. Professor Cornill continues:

“Our first question must be: What is this book of laws of Josiah, which was discovered in the year 621? The youthful De Wette, in his thesis for a professorship at Jena in the year 1805, clearly proved that this book of laws was essentially the fifth book of Moses, known as Deuteronomy. The book is clearly and distinctly marked off from the rest of the Pentateuch and its legislation, whilst the reforms of worship introduced by Josiah correspond exactly to what it called for. The proofs adduced by De Wette have been generally accepted, and his view has become a common possession of Old Testament research.”

The priests in the country who opposed the temple reform were treated with great cruelty (See 2 Kings xiii. 20) and the wizards and witches of the land were also exterminated, as we read in 2 Kings xxiii. 24:

“Moreover the workers with familiar spirits, and the wizards, and the images, and the idols, and all the abominations that were spied in the land of Judah and in Jerusalem, did Josiah put away, that he might perform the words of the law which were written in the book that Hilkiah the priest found in the house of the Lord.”

#### THE BABYLONIAN EXILE.

The temple reform established the supremacy of the priestly party, but the priests were poor statesmen. Believing that Yahweh would not suffer the temple to fall into the hands of his enemies, they pursued a short-sighted policy siding always with the wrong party, and this ended in a most deplorable defeat. Jerusalem was taken, and the aristocracy of the people together with all their leaders, the educated classes, the scribes and even the smiths who could work in iron were deported into Babylon.<sup>7</sup>

This fate was sufficient to destroy any nation, but it did not ruin the Jews. Having gained the conviction by the temple reform that they were the chosen people of God, the exile only served to harden them in the furnace of tribulation, and so Judaism was prepared for the part which it was going to play in the further development of religious ideas.

When we bear in mind that the deported Jews belonged to the upper and more highly educated classes, we can easily understand that their ideas of monotheism, which in those days constituted an advanced stage of free thinking, soon became with them a mono-

<sup>7</sup> See 2 Kings xxiv, 14-16.

mania. They may have become acquainted with Babylonian monotheists, and whenever they had an opportunity to discuss religion may have claimed that their God was the only true God and that he had manifested himself in their literature. One thing is sure, they now interpreted the treasures of their literature in the spirit of this conviction, and their priests prepared new redactions of their old books in the light of the new faith.

While the Jewish conception of religion was rigorously monotheistic, for Yahveh was regarded as the only true God of the universe, the creator of heaven and earth, it was at the same time narrowed down to a most egotistical nationalism, and this nationalism was made the quintessence of their religion.

Every nation passes through a phase in which it regards itself as the favored people of the earth, looking with contempt or pity on all others. The Greeks called the non-Greeks barbarians, the Germanic tribes called the non-Germanic races Welsh, the Egyptians looked upon all foreigners as unclean, and the Chinese are possessed of similar notions up to this day. Among the Jews this idea was incorporated into the fabric of their faith, and thus we may say that while Judaism marked a progress in the history of religion it must at the same time be regarded as a contraction of the religious sentiment; instead of broadening the people, it restricted and limited their horizon. While liberating themselves from some of the grossest superstitions of paganism, the Jews cherished a mistaken and most fatal belief in their own preeminence over the Gentiles.

Their adherence to this notion made the Jews so intolerable to others that they bore the cause of their calamity with them wherever they went, however innocent the individuals may have been since they imbibed their ideas from childhood.

Whatever wrongs the Gentiles did, the Jews gave the first provocation, and the very way in which they are banded together against the rest of the world made them naturally the "odium" of the human race, as Tacitus calls them.

It is easy for us to see that the exclusiveness of the Jews was a fault, that their progressiveness was lamentably cramped by the reactionary spirit of a most Chauvinistic tribal patriotism, but this very fault rendered them fit to become the vessel that was wanted to hold the monotheistic belief. Without their superstition of the holiness of their tribal existence, they would never have persisted as Jews, they would have disappeared among the nations. In order to become the torch-bearers of the light of monotheism, their faith had to be hardened into a nationalistic religion and their very short-

coming rendered them fit to serve a higher purpose in the history of mankind.

We must grant one thing, that while the temple reform and the subsequent exile hardened the national character of the Jews to such an extent that the Jews remained Jews wherever they went, the persistence of the Jewish race ensured ultimately the success of Christianity as a world-religion.

#### THE DISPERSION.

One of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of mankind, and in its way quite unique, is the Dispersion of the Jews. The Jews are the only people of antiquity which exists still and has preserved its type, but the Jewish people differ from all other nations of the world in this one particular point that they are a people without a country. Ancient Judea is no longer Jewish, the Jews live among the other nations; they are scattered and wherever we go we find Jews. This Dispersion (or, as it was called in Greek, *Diaspora*) has been an object of awe and wonder; and though it gives the Jews a decided advantage in the struggle for existence, it has been regarded as a curse which rests upon this race of "rovers."

We are so accustomed to the dispersion of the Jews that it scarcely rouses our curiosity any longer, and I can not discover the slightest scientific attempt to explain the phenomenon. The best authorities, both Christian and Jewish, accept the facts in the traditional interpretation as a kind of mysterious doom. So for instance Professor Sayce, when discussing the peculiarities of the Jewish people speaks of the Babylonian exile and the world exile of the Jews as the two great national calamities of the race. He says:

"The Jews flourish everywhere except in the country of which they held possession for so long a time. The few Jewish colonies which exist there are mere exotics, influencing the surrounding population as little as the German colonies that have been founded beside them. That population is Canaanite. In physical features, in mental and moral characteristics, even in its folklore, it is the descendant of the population which the Israelitish invaders vainly attempted to extirpate. It has survived, while they have perished or wandered elsewhere. The Roman succeeded in driving the Jew from the soil which his fathers had won; the Jew never succeeded in driving from it its original possessor. When the Jew departed from it, whether for exile in Babylonia, or for the longer exile in the world of a later day, the older population sprang up again in all its

vigor and freshness, thus asserting its right to be indeed the child of the soil."

Professor Graetz, the best Jewish authority on Jewish history, expresses himself thus (*Geschichte der Juden*, I, 619-620):

"At the cradle of the Jewish nation was sung the song of ceaseless wandering and dispersion such as no other nation has ever known, and this dread lullaby came to fulfilment with terrible literalness. There was hardly a corner in either of the two dominant empires, the Roman and the Parthian, where Jews were not to be found, where they had not formed a religious community. The border of the great Mediterranean basin and the estuaries of all the main rivers of the old world, the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Danube were peopled with Jews. As by an inexorable fate the sons of Israel were driven farther and farther away from their center. But this dispersion was likewise a blessing and an act of providence. It sowed abroad the seeds which were destined to bear to all directions a nobler God-conception and a purer civilization."

Even Karl Vollers, the most recent liberal writer on the history of religion, says in *Die Weltreligionen*,<sup>8</sup> that "the dispersion (*Diaspora*, *Gola*) which had started centuries before [the breakdown of the Jewish theocracy] now becomes general, and down to our own days forms the signature of the history of the Jews."

Convinced of the enormous significance which the fact of the dispersion of the Jews possesses in the history of Christianity, I have given the problem some thought and I have come to the following conclusion.

The name Diaspora or Dispersion is misleading because it suggests that some mysterious cause scatters the Jews among the Gentiles. The truth is that the Jews scatter no more and no less than any other nationality, but while all other nationalities become acclimatized to their new homes, Jews remain Jews wherever they go. The problem therefore is not how did the Jews scatter, but how did they preserve their own type, and the answer is not far to seek.

Judaism is a prematurely acquired belief in monotheism, which means that the Jews had adopted monotheism before they were able to grasp its significance.

The Jews of the Exile believed that there was but one God, the creator of heaven and earth and ruler of the universe, and that this only true God was their own God Yahveh; they identified him in their own history with the God-conceptions which their different

<sup>8</sup> Published at Eugen Dietrichs Verlag, Jena, 1907.

tribes had held at different times. He was the Shaddai of Abraham, the Elohim of the patriarchs, the Zebaoth of Ephraim, and above all he was Yahveh, the God of David and of Moses. All these names became designations of the same deity.

If the Jews had been ripe for monotheism, they would have abolished the barbarous and pagan institutions of which their religion was still possessed, as for instance the practice of offering bloody sacrifices to God, repeatedly denounced by the prophets. Had the Jews been sufficiently matured to understand the moral applications of a belief in one God, they would have seen that before God there is no difference between Jew and Gentile and that the chosen people are those who actualize the divine will in their lives. This inconsistency of the Jewish faith which combined a universalistic breadth with an outspoken and almost unparalleled narrowness pampered by national vanity, rendered it possible for them to cling to some old-fashioned institutions, called the Law, or the Law of Moses, which was kept with a remarkably punctilious piety that would have been worthy of a better cause. But circumcision, abstinence from pork, certain rules of butchering, a rigorous observance of the Sabbath, etc., would in themselves have been harmless, had not their religion at the same time become a belief in the Jewish nationality which established a line of demarcation between the Jews and the rest of the world. Here lies the root of the tenacity of Judaism which has produced that most remarkable historical phenomenon of the preservation of the Jews in the midst of the other nations, a phenomenon known as the Dispersion.

All the nations scatter. The great capitals of the world contain representatives of any race that is suffered admittance, but within the second or third generation these strangers are being absorbed. The Jew alone resists absorption. He remains a Jew. The newcomer finds his coreligionist, and associates with him. The circle grows and a synagogue is built.

How many nations have sent their sons into Germany! Think of the innumerable French Huguenots, Italians such as the Cottas, the Brentanos. From Scotland came Kant's father, and Keith, the famous general of Frederick the Great. Who now thinks of their foreign ancestry? They have all become Germans.

The same is true of the Germans who settle in other countries. France, Italy, Spain, etc. The traveler comes across them here and there, but their children scarcely know whence their father or grandfather came.

The truth is that the children of every nation are scattered

among the other nations. Everywhere there are people who go abroad to seek their fortunes. There is everywhere a constant tendency to migrations of small fractions of the population to distant countries where they are attracted in the hope of improving their condition. That the Jews are not assimilated as the others, is due to their religion, the main import of which, as we have seen, is the preservation of the Jewish nationality.

Every man has the inborn tendency of being a Hebrew, i. e., "a rover." All human life radiates. The Jew is not an exception. He simply follows the general rule, but he at the same time preserves his own kind. We find Jews everywhere, and this gives the impression that they are scattered all over the world. Not having a country of their own, the idea naturally originated that the Jews have become scattered because they no longer possess a country of their own, but the dispersion of the Jews antedates the destruction of Jerusalem and would be the same even if Jerusalem had never been destroyed.

The Jewish dispersion is frequently regarded as a mysterious curse that has befallen the race because they have rejected the Saviour and crucified Christ; and this romantic conception has found a poetic expression in the grewsome legend of Ahasuerus, the "Wandering Jew," the man who can not die. This occult interpretation of the phenomenon casts a glamor of mystery upon the Jews and makes them an object of interest; not indeed of love, but of awe. We need not add that this view is more poetical than true, for the Jewish dispersion existed before the crucifixion. Horace quotes a proverb, *Credat Judæus Apella*, viz.: "Try to make the Jew Apella believe it."—which implies that the Jews lived among the Romans and were known to them as sharp fellows who would not be taken in easily. They existed not only in Rome but all over the Græco-Roman empire, and wherever Paul went on his missionary journeys he found Jewish congregations,—in fact he himself was born in the Dispersion.

The Jews were known to the Gentiles as representatives of a rigorous monotheism; their claim that they were the worshipers of the only true God was reiterated, and their literature, written with mysterious characters in a strange tongue, was commonly accepted as a verification. The ancient pagan gods had lost the last semblance of authority and so the Jewish protestation that they were idols, nonentities, vain conceits of an idle imagination, was willingly believed.

Taken all in all, the Jew was surrounded with a mystery which

made it very plausible that some secret truth was hidden in Judaism. The striking characteristics which distinguish the Jew, called for an explanation and made it desirable for a universal religion, which like Judaism was monotheistic, to explain their existence and assign them a part in the development of truth.

This work was done by St. Paul, and his explanation was the more willingly accepted by the Gentiles as it explained also the odium in which the Jews were held. According to St. Paul the Jews had been the chosen people of God, who, however, were now rejected on account of their stubborn attitude toward the Gospel which he preached.

There existed for some time a few Jewish colonies which were not dominated by the spirit of the post-Exilic reform. We name the one in Elephantine (or Jeb) in Upper Egypt and the other one in Tahpanhes, in Lower Egypt, both flourishing communities where of late interesting monuments have been discovered; but it is noteworthy that none of them survived. Not being so narrow-minded as to condemn any approach to the life and habits of, and inter-marriage with, the Gentiles, they disappeared in the long run. They lacked that preservative talisman without which the Jew would not essentially differ from other human beings.

#### JEW AND GENTILE.

Now let us ask what were the objections of the Jews to paganism?

We know that in all pagan religions a belief in the immortality of the soul was dearest to the pious, and judging from an ancient Babylonian poem, "Ishtar's Descent to Hell," and from other indications, we must assume that the Babylonians and other Gentiles tried to communicate with the dead in some way after the fashion of spiritualist seances by professional conjurors.

These mediums of ancient times are called in the Bible "wizards and witches," and their controls "familiar spirits." Against this class of people the ire of the exiled Jews seems to have blazed up most furiously, for they are condemned in the strongest terms in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic insertions of the priestly redactors. We are told again and again that they were expelled from Israel and the penalty of death by stoning was imposed upon them. And yet they must have existed in ancient times, for we have a graphic account of the witch of Endor whom Saul visited. Those verses which mention the expulsion of the wizards and witches by

Saul (1 Sam. xxviii. 9-10) are perhaps a later insertion of the priestly redactor in order to explain how Saul could consult a witch, if witches were not tolerated in Israel. The account itself seems to be complete without these lines, and it would then appear that the king made no secret of his intention to seek an interview with the ghost of Samuel. At any rate this custom of citing ghosts was a great abomination to the Exilic and post-Exilic Jew, and it almost seems as if the leaders of the exiled Jews who gave a definite shape to Judaism by impressing their views upon the rest of the Jewish people, omitted on account of their aversion to a ghost-conception of the dead, all references to a future life from their sacred literature and so gave the impression that they did not believe in immortality. It is difficult to say what the Israelites thought of the soul in the times of Saul, but it is probable that then they shared the views of their neighbors, while in post-Exilic times the Jews were opposed to the immortality-conception of the Gentiles.

Now we know at the same time that the Gentile belief in immortality is closely connected with their legends of the God-man who is born on earth, becomes a hero and a saviour, struggles for the cause of mankind, and is slain to rise again from the tomb. All this was as much of an abomination to the Jew as was the worship of the Queen of Heaven. To the Jew, God was God and not a man, neither was he a woman. The idea of a mother of God, a Goddess mother, or even a Goddess bride was to them so senseless that the Hebrew language avoided the formation of the female form of God.

We do not mean to defend the ancient paganism and its superstitions, but in fairness to truth we must say that many accusations of the Jews against the Gentile conception of gods, is erroneous,—so especially the proposition that the Gentiles worshiped the very statues of their gods. The Psalmist says:

“The idols of the heathen are silver and gold,  
The work of men’s hands.

“They have mouths, but they speak not;  
Eyes have they, but they see not;

“They have ears, but they hear not;  
Neither is there any breath in their mouths.

“They that make them are like unto them:  
So is every one that trusteth in them.”

When we read the religious hymns of ancient Babylon and Egypt, many of which are full of noble inspiration, we receive quite



another impression of the pagan polytheistic faith. The statues of the gods in the temples were not deemed to be the gods themselves, but only their representative images, and we can see no difference between pagan idolatry so called and the use of icons in Christian churches. But this is a side issue; the main point is that the Jews were opposed to the worship of idols including the making of statues and images in any form; they were further opposed to the idea of a God-man, and to the belief in immortality such as was held by all the Gentiles. These ideas, however, reasserted themselves in the Apocrypha and thus prepared the way for the foundation of gnostic views resembling Christianity, among such Jews as Philo, Apollos and finally St. Paul, the Apostle.

The contrast between Jew and Gentile is fundamentally based upon a temperamental difference. The Jew wants religion pure and simple; he takes monotheism seriously and brooks no mediation of intercessors, no mysticism, no allegorizing, no profound and abstruse symbols. The Gentile sees the divine everywhere. His monotheism is no rigid Unitarianism. He is a dualist whose conception of the duality of things is explained by a higher union and thus he formulates his belief in God as trinitarianism. He loves art and myth, and this makes him appear in the eye of the Jew as an idolator, a worshiper of images. He seeks God not only above the clouds but also in the living examples of heroes, of ideal men, of the great representatives of God on earth.

This same contrast of the two attitudes gave rise to the rigorously monotheistic Islam, but as there are Unitarians among the Christians, so there are among the Moslems, especially among the Sheites, those who believe in a second advent of Mohammed, of a Mahdi, or a saviour of some kind; and Behaism, the new religion that originated in Persia, proves that the idea of a divine Mediator is still alive in Mohammedan countries.

#### THE JUDAISM OF JESUS.

St. Paul speaks of Christ as the Son of David according to the flesh and follows in this the rabbinical tradition which was commonly established at the time of Jesus. David was the great hero in the history of Israel whose rule marks the period of the nation's greatest glory. In the times of their oppression they longed for a hero who would reestablish the kingdom of David and so it was but natural that the expected Messiah was called the son of David. But though the Messiah was so called there is no reason why he should ac-

tually belong to the house of David. The house of David had died out with Zerubbabel, and if there were any of his family left they would have been able to trace their genealogy only indirectly to the royal house.

The genealogies of Joseph preserved in the New Testament are positively impossible and obviously of a late date. Even if they were tenable they would prove nothing of the descent of Jesus on the orthodox assumption because Joseph was not deemed his father. We ought to have had a genealogy of Mary.

We must assume that in the days of Jesus the claim of his disciples that he was the expected Messiah was met with the objection that nothing good could come from Nazareth and that the Messiah must be of the house of David. If Jesus could by any genealogy have established the claim of his descent from David it would certainly have been recorded, but we have in the New Testament a passage repeated in the three synoptic Gospels which proves the very opposite, viz., that Jesus in the presence of a large number of people assembled in the court of the temple disproves the idea current among the scribes and Pharisees that the Messiah must be a son of David. This incident is repeated in Mark xii. 35-37; Matt. xxv. 41-46; and Luke xx. 41-44.

We quote the shortest report according to the Gospel of St. Mark as follows:

"And Jesus answered and said, while he taught in the temple, How say the scribes that Christ is the son of David?

"For David himself said by the Holy Ghost, The Lord said to my lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool.

"David therefore himself calleth him Lord; and whence is he then his son? And the common people heard him gladly."

In reading these verses we must bear in mind that Psalm cx to which Jesus refers, was in his days commonly ascribed to David and the expression "My Lord" was interpreted to be addressed to the Anointed One, the Messiah. In claiming the dignity of Messiah, Jesus refutes the popular notion of a Messiahship which was constituted merely by descent, the aristocracy of blood.

The question here is not whether the Psalm was really written by David nor whether the point which Christ makes is unanswerable. We have simply to note that by this argument he silenced the claim of the scribes and Pharisees which they must have made; for if this is an answer to a point raised by his enemies it can only have been the proposition that no one else but a descendant of David ought

to be the Messiah. The answer presupposes that Jesus was not of the family of David but that while he did not claim to be a descendant of the royal house, he yet held to the claim of Messiahship. If he was after all called the son of David by his adherents and by the sick who sought his help, it was only because in popular parlance the terms Messiah and Son of David had been identified.

For these reasons we must assume that Jesus was born a Galilean, a child of the people, and the story of his royal descent was an afterthought. It was attributed to him in the same way as five hundred years before him it was claimed that Buddha was the son of a king.

While Jesus was probably a Galilean, and as such, though not of purely Aryan yet of Gentile blood, he was certainly a Jew by religion. He sent out his disciples to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel," and adds the special injunction not to go to the Samaritans nor to the Gentiles (Matt. x. 5-6). How little tenable it is to interpret this as a temporary measure to be superseded afterwards by a world mission, appears from verse 23 where Christ declares, "Verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the son of man be come," which can only mean the second advent of Christ in all his glory, for in any other possible sense the first advent has taken place, since the son of man had come and was speaking to them.

According to Matt. xv. 22 ff. and Mark vii. 25 ff. Jesus refuses his help to a Gentile woman. She is called a Canaanite in the former account and a Greek of Syro-Phoenician nationality in the other. Jesus says to her that "it is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs." She takes his harsh answer in full recognition of the superiority of the Jews, and taking up the same mode of expression which Jesus uses she answers, "Yet the dogs eat the crumbs which fall from their master's table." Only on account of her great faith Jesus yields and heals her daughter. Luke, who is a Gentile himself, omits the story.

We must remember that the Jews called the Gentiles "dogs" and "swine" and we may very well interpret Christ's saying (Matt. vii. 6), that that which is "holy" should not be given to the dogs, and that pearls should not be cast before the swine, in this same sense, that the blessings of his Gospel do not belong to the Gentiles.

The most important passage in which Jesus stands up for Judaism is contained in the Sermon on the Mount, where we read:

"For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled."

The Greek words "jot" and "tittle" denote the diacritical points used in the Hebrew text, and so this saying of Jesus does not only insist on the law in the letter but includes the most unessential parts of the letter also. One could not express himself more severely as insisting on the significance of a literal presentation of the law than is done here in a word ascribed to Jesus, and this word stands in strong contradiction to the spirit which permeates the religion of Jesus as it is commonly understood, especially to the principles in which the Sermon on the Mount is written. In the Sermon on the Mount Jesus insists that the spirit is the main thing, and according to other passages he would abolish the letter in order to preserve and insist on the spirit which constitutes the purpose of the law. But if this passage means what it says, the fulfilment of the law must go down into the most minute details which is insisted on so vigorously that the law in its very letter is more stable than heaven and earth. Heaven and earth shall pass away before we can expect a relaxation of the Mosaic law. The parallel passage of this sentence is found in Luke xvi. 17, which reads as follows:

"And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail."

It is obvious that this doctrine is contrary to the interpretation which had been established in the Gentile churches, and we know that it was vigorously opposed by St. Paul. He claimed that the law had been fulfilled, and that the pagans need not be held to observe the details of the Mosaic law, such as circumcision, abstinence from pork, etc., and yet the passage is unequivocal. This seems to be the best proof of its genuineness.

Texts have often been altered to conform to new doctrines, and so we are justified in assuming that verses which incorporate an older but rejected view represent the original text and are traces of a belief that is no longer countenanced. Only by some inadvertence were they suffered to remain and after the text became too sacred for alterations, proved a stumbling block to exegetics. Our passage is to all appearance such a relic, the character of which still bears witness to an older tradition. The severity with which the preservation of the Mosaic law is insisted upon is modified however by the words "Till all be fulfilled."

It is not impossible that this second clause in the sentence "till all be fulfilled" is an addition made by a Gentile Christian scribe, with the intention of softening the meaning of this sentence. Paul claimed that the law was fulfilled in Christ, and for this reason it need no longer be observed by the Gentiles. Paul's arguments ap-

pealed to the Gentiles and they no longer felt bound to obey the Mosaic law, so the scribe by adding the clause "till all be fulfilled" reminds his readers of the Pauline doctrine that in spite of the acknowledged divinity of the Mosaic law it was no longer in force since it had been fulfilled in Christ; but in inserting this clause, "till all be fulfilled," he forgot to cancel the other statement which it was intended to replace, "till heaven and earth shall pass away;" and so we have here a double condition, one which reflects the original meaning, the other the new interpretation put on it.

Since it is not probable that these passages which indicate the Jewish spirit of Jesus were later inventions because the Gentile Church would not have invented these sayings and would not have superadded them to the sacred text, the opposite must be assumed to be nearer the truth, viz., that the original Jesus was and actually remained a Jew in his religion but that later traditions tended more and more to obliterate his Jewish conviction and superadded to the traditional text sayings of a more cosmopolitan character. It is noticeable for instance that the only important passage in which Jesus shows the intention of founding a universal religion is an utterance attributed to him after his death and before his ascension, when he says (Mark xvi. 15), "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

The personality of Jesus must have been unusually attractive and sympathetic especially to the poor, the lowly, the oppressed; but he was a Jew in his convictions, and had he not been a Jew he would have been out of harmony with his surroundings for cosmopolitan ideas would scarcely have appealed to the poor Galilean fisher folk.

We do not accept the theory that the life of Jesus was a myth. We believe that he was a real person and that ultimately the Gospel accounts are based upon fact. Nevertheless the Gospel story is not history, it is strongly colored by the Christology of the Church, and the modifications which the original story underwent are the communal work of successive generations, until the Gospel assumed a shape that was generally acceptable to the majority of Christians. New Testament scholars are fairly well agreed that Mark represents the oldest account of the historical Jesus. It presupposes an earlier Gospel, the so-called Proto-Mark, which served as a source for the three synoptic Gospels and is, in its turn, based upon still older documents, the Logia and other personal reminiscences of Jesus. Matthew is a Judaizing redaction and incorporates additional material, while Luke, being compiled from other sources, was adapted for the use

of Gentiles.<sup>9</sup> The fourth Gospel, however, though it may incidentally have incorporated some new reliable information, is upon the whole the least historical, but it ranges highest in its philosophical conception. It represents the final stage on which Jesus, the Messiah, the son of David, the son of Man, has at last become the Christ, the Logos, the Saviour.

There is a faction of Christianity to-day, as there always has been, who would discard the Christological-additions and go back to the historical Jesus, but their procedure seems to me to be based upon an error. Religion can never be founded upon historical facts or single occurrences, nor upon individual characters, but must always rest upon eternal truths. It is not the life of Jesus that will be helpful, but what we make of it; mankind needs a Christ and thus each successive Christian generation has interpreted the story of Jesus in the spirit of its highest conception of Christ.

Scholarly investigations into the Gospel documents to determine the facts of the life of Jesus as to his actuality, his views, his race, his character, etc., may be of archeological interest, or may even possess historical value, but they are absolutely useless for religious purposes. It is quite indifferent whether Jesus was a Jew, or Galilean, whether a Semite or an Aryan, and it is also of very little consequence what view he held. Whether rightly or wrongly, the fact which we have to deal with is this, that to Christians Jesus has become the Christ. The personality of Jesus is a mere thread upon which Christians string the pearls of their religious interpretations of ideals of manhood, of the God-man, of the deity that has become flesh.

Historical investigations of the story of Jesus are apt to disclose conditions which would not please us, for it seems that what to a modern man is most repugnant, his claims of being able to drive out devils, is historically the most assured fact of his life. But what of it? Religion lets the dead past bury its dead. Jesus is gone, but Christ remains, and the living presence counts. The religion of the Christians has for good reasons been called, not Jesuism after the name of Jesus, but Christianity after Christ, the ideal of humanity, which is not an individual being but a superpersonal presence, not a man who lived and died at a certain time, but like the Platonic ideas, an eternal type, the prototype of the highest ideal of manhood. And the Christian doctrine of the preexistence of Christ conveys a great truth, for this prototype is eternal with God; it is the Logos uncreate

<sup>9</sup> That Luke quotes Buddhist texts as "Scriptures" has been proved by Mr. Albert J. Edmunds in his *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*.

and without end; it is, to use the mystic and profound symbolism of dogmatic Christianity, God the Son begotten in all eternity by God the Father.

#### CONCLUSION.

Christianity may be compared to a composite portrait as made by Galton who photographed a number of faces belonging to a certain class in such a way as to bring out their general type, taking only short exposures of every individual. They must be so posed that the noses and the eyes coincide upon the sensitive plate. In the composite picture which results therefrom the individual differences disappear while the common features come out strongly and produce a new portrait which is the ideal type of all its component factors.

The relation of Christianity to the ancient pagan religions is quite similar to that which obtains between the composite photograph and the several exposures which produce it. Every faith of antique paganism left an impression more or less dim and every one was repudiated with its individual traits. Nevertheless the underlying principles of all the several religions which were mostly the same, remained in the minds of the people, and they produced a new type which was impressed upon the dualistic world-conception then prevalent. This picture, a composite of all the previous religions, looked quite unlike each single one of the originals that had contributed its share to the formation of the whole, and yet it was the sum total of their fusion.

The alliance between Christianity and Judaism was as close as childhood by adoption can be. Christianity entered upon the inheritance and claimed the history and traditions of Israel as its own, but for all that its inmost constitution remained different from Judaism. The nature of an adopted child will not be that of its foster father but will keep true to the blood of its own parents. The spirit of Christianity was Gentile from the start and has remained so in spite of the great influence of the Old Testament Scriptures upon its further development.

It is difficult to appreciate how closely the fate of rivals is always interlinked. Judaism gave to Christianity its finishing touches and Christianity incorporated into itself much of Judaism, yet the two have most fanatically anathematized each other in the past. In one sense Christianity supersedes the ancient paganism and in another sense the ancient paganism reappears in a new form in Christian doctrines. Yet the Church Fathers can not speak of the pagans

without maligning them bitterly and unjustly. It may be literally true that the bitterer the hostility between two rivals, the more similar are they in spirit; the more marked the contrast is, the greater must be their kinship. This statement almost appears like a corroboration of the pantheistic idea of the identity of Brahma in all things, which makes the red slayer the same as his victim, the one he slays.

When we speak of the pagan character of Christianity, we mean neither to disparage Christianity nor to deny the fact that its appearance represents a new era in the history of the world. We use the term only to bring out forcibly the truth that (in spite of the important part played by Judaism) Christianity is in all its essential doctrines the legitimate result of the religious development of mankind,—not of Judaism, but of the whole world, Jews and Gentiles, but mainly of the Gentiles, i. e., the nations. Instead of belittling Christianity, we must raise our estimate of and our respect for paganism, which was neither so thoughtlessly idolatrous, nor so immoral as it has been commonly represented.

The Jewish contribution to the development of religion is more negative than positive, it is like the salt that gives the flavor, but the meat was furnished by the Gentiles.

Christianity is like a big river which drains an enormous territory. It has not one source but innumerable sources, and the character of its waters together with its course depends upon the geography of the whole country, not upon what is commonly called its source. Yet people will insist on calling one spring of the whole system the source of the river as if that alone had caused its existence and none of the others need be taken into consideration.

Sometimes it happens (as for instance in the Mississippi-Missouri system) that the largest stream which supplies most of the water and has the longest course does not bear the name of the main river, and the same is true in the history of Christianity. The largest supply of its substance and also the most essential ingredients so far as quality is concerned, viz., that portion which determines the nature of its doctrines, is not furnished by Judaism to which its origin is commonly traced, but by paganism; and when we pass in review the teachings of Jesus himself, as recorded in the synoptic gospels, we can discover nothing that is typically Christian.

There is a joke told by Austrians on a Magyar who is said to have traveled to the source of the Danube where he stopped the water so that for a little while it would not flow, and with a mischievous twinkle in his eye he exclaimed: "What a surprise it will



be to the people in Vienna when the Danube suddenly runs dry!" This view of the origin of rivers is not unlike the current interpretation of the history of Christianity which is supposed to have received all its momentum either from the Sermon on the Mount, or the death of Jesus on the cross.

The spread of the Gospel of Jesus which we trace in its continuity in ecclesiastic history, is to be complemented by a consideration of innumerable other lines of thought which like tributaries of a stream have become merged into the Christian doctrines and have considerably modified them.

We shall never be able to understand the nature of the records of the life of Jesus that have come down to us, unless we bear in mind how they were altered and interpreted from the standpoint of these later additions, how they were redacted to remove what had become obsolete, and generally how they were again and again adapted to the new requirements.

Christianity is not the work of one man, but the product of ages. When the inhabitants of the countries that surround the Mediterranean Sea were for the first time in history united into one great empire, they became conscious of the solidarity of the human race and felt the need of a universal religion. In response to that need answers were given by thinkers, moral teachers, and religious leaders, whose doctrines were more or less echoed in the sentiment of the large masses. These large masses were after all the ultimate court of appeal which would render a final decision.

Several religions originated but Christianity alone survived, because it contained in a definite form what vaguely and indefinitely was slumbering in the subconscious sentiment of public opinion. Christianity had gathered up in itself the quintessence of the past, and presented solutions to the problems of religion which were most compatible with the new conditions. The generations of the first three centuries molded and remolded the Christian documents until they acquired a shape that would be in accord with the prevalent view of the times.

The subconscious ideal which in dim outlines animated multitudes, consisted of the traditional religious views inherited from the hoary past. It was fashioned by the old religions and contained the ideas of a saviour, of the God-man, and of his martyr death, of his victory over all ill and of his return to life, of forgiveness of sins, of the restitution of the world, of a golden age, a millennium and the foundation of a kingdom of God on earth. Such was the

demand of the age, and Virgil's fourth eclogue is one instance only in which this sentiment finds a poetical expression.

At the same time all the fables of mythology were discredited. The tales of Heracles, and of Adonis, of Æsculapius, and of Osiris, of all the several ancient saviours, were no longer believed; they appeared now fantastical and had become untrue and unsatisfactory. A real saviour of historical actuality was demanded. It is natural that some people expected him to appear on the throne as the restorer of peace and many greeted Augustus as a divine incarnation, the representative of God on earth. But his successors did not come up to the expectations of the people and Nero's example alone was sufficient to overthrow the belief in the divinity of the Emperor. The saviour could not be of this world, he had to be a man, and yet a God, not of secular power, but king of a spiritual empire, a king of truth, and so the personality of Jesus became more and more acceptable as the true saviour.

The ideal which constituted the demand was of Gentile manufacture, and Christianity, its fulfilment, is in this respect Gentile too, it was un-Jewish, or pagan. But being such, pagan means human; it denotes what is typical of mankind. The pagan world offered some positive solutions of the old world-problem and Judaism criticised them. Judaism represents the spirit of negation—albeit a much needed and wholesome negation.

We grant that paganism contains many objectionable features and so the Jewish attitude of negation is justified. Paganism was weighed and found wanting. Christianity then renewed the old issues but made them pass through the furnace of the Jewish condemnation of pagan mythology. The result was that the same old beliefs were so thoroughly transfigured as to render them something quite new.

Christianity accepts the old pagan world-conception and yet it is not a mere repetition of the old paganism. If we call it "paganism *redivivus*" we do not mean to say that it remains on the same level of primitive superstitions. It is the old paganism, broadened into universalism and purified by a severe monotheism. The old religion was thereby liberated of its most obvious faults, of narrowness, of crude literalism, of naive naturalism, and other childish notions.

The God of evolution works by laws and the marvels of his dispensation can be traced in the natural development of affairs. Just as the snowflake exhibits a design of unflinching regularity and great beauty, so the *denouement* of historical events takes place according to an intrinsic necessity which gives it a definite direc-

tion, and when at the seasonable time definite aims are attained—aims which have been prepared by preceding events—the result appears like the work of a predetermined purpose. It is an immanent teleology which dominates the world. The old legends naturally appear like prophecies which in Jesus Christ have found their fulfilment, and so we can truly speak of Christianity as the pleroma.

## HAZING AND FAGGING.

BY THE EDITOR.

OUR university authorities sometimes have trouble to suppress, or at least to confine within reasonable limits, the customs of hazing and fagging. Even where these abuses are most rigorously punished they turn up again, and like weeds prove almost ineradicable. The truth is that even in their worst excrescences they are less virulent forms of old customs which centuries ago were observed with an almost religious punctiliousness that would have been worthy of a better purpose.

We know too little of the schools of classical antiquity and of Babylon and Egypt to say whether these venerable nuisances existed there also. The first knowledge of them dates back to the end of the Middle Ages, to the very time when universities became famous and well established organizations. Hazing in those days was called "deposition," and fagging, "pennalism." It is strange, however, that both customs were not a mere outburst of youthful impertinence but regular institutions recognized by the authorities of the university. The underlying idea in both was that the new comer to the university was an untutored, uncivilized man, who had first to be polished before he could become a regular member of the university; moreover before he would taste the sweets of a student's life he should suffer hardships. This principle is expressed in the following Latin lines:

*"Hiscæ modis variis tentatur cruda juvenus;  
In studiosorum si petat esse choro;  
Ut discat rapidos animi compellere motus;  
Et simul ante sciat dulcia dura pati."*

[Through these several methods our untried youth must be tested,  
If of the students the ranks they would desire to join.  
Readily thus they acquire command of the spirit's quick motions,  
And ere they taste what is sweet, learn to endure what is hard.]

A German verse expresses a similar sentiment thus:

“Sihe wie man Studenten macht  
Aus grobe Hölzlein ungeschlagt.”

[See how the students by hard knocks  
Are made from crude and uncouth blocks.]

Hazing is an old French word derived from *haser*, which means “to annoy, to vex, to irritate.” A freshman was called in old French *Bec jaune*, i. e., “yellow beak” which in modern English one might call “a greenhorn,” and the French phrase was contracted into the



*Hic modis vixis tentatur cruda iuventa:  
In studiorum, si petat esse soro:  
Ut dicat rapidos animi compellere motus:  
Et simul ante faciat dulcia dura pati.* Sarrin, Lat.

Sihe wie man Studenten macht  
aus grobe hölzlein ungeschlagt

COPPER ENGRAVING OF THE 17TH CENTURY.

Preserved in the Germanischen Museum at Nuremberg.<sup>1</sup>

late Latin form *beanus* or *beanus*, the definition of which is given thus: “*Beanus est animal nesciens vitam studiosorum.*” that is to say, “a beanus is an animal unfamiliar with the life of students.”

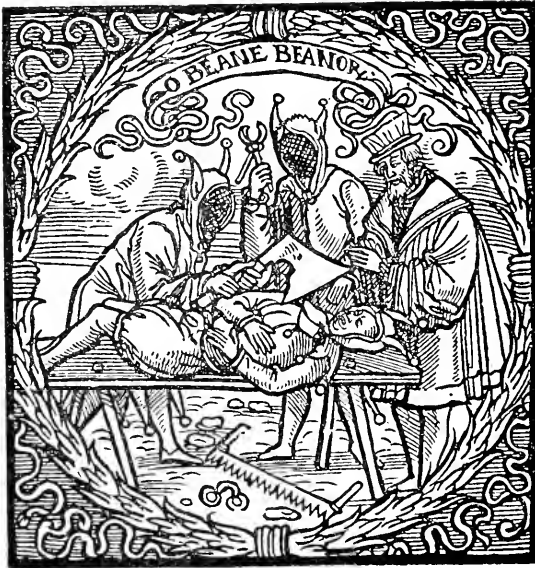
How old the custom is to vex the *bec jaunes* appears from a decree of the *confratria Sancti Sebastiani* at Avignon in 1441 which forbids some improper practices of the deposition.

In the time of the Reformation the deposition assumed a defi-

<sup>1</sup> A similar drawing is reproduced by W. Fabricius in *Die deutschen Corps*, p. 23.

nite form in Protestant universities, and Luther himself deemed it necessary to express his views on the subject with characteristic vigor. In the year 1578 Johannes Dinckel wrote a pamphlet "on the origin, instances, type and ceremonies of that rite which in the schools is commonly called Deposition." He incorporated Luther's verdict together with the illustrated poem (*carmen heroicum*) of this custom by Frederick Widebrand, from which several woodcuts are here reproduced.

Students who had been absolved from their beanism were called *absoluti*, or the absolved ones.



WOODCUT FROM WIDEBRAND'S CARMEN HEROICUM.

Published at Erfurt and Wittenberg, 1578. The inscription reads, with the usual abbreviation: "O beane beanorum."

In the deposition ceremony, the beanus was dressed in a ridiculous fashion, his skin was blackened, horns and long ears were attached to his head, and big tusks were put into his mouth. Woe to the freshman who would resent these coarse jokes, for he would at once be forced into submission by blows.

The tusks necessarily prevented the beanus from answering in plain words, the questions propounded to him, but that was taken as a sign that he grunted like a pig and was incapable of articulate speech. Thereupon the teeth were pulled out and the horns were

taken off, and both operations were performed in a manner that would be annoying and painful. As a rule they had to run against the door until the horns broke to pieces, a reminiscence of which custom is still preserved in the modern German saying *sich die Hörner ablaufen*, i. e., "to run off one's horns," which means about the same as "to sow wild oats."

In addition the freshmen were deposited on a bench or on the floor (whence the name *depositio* originated) and subjected to all kinds of maltreatments. They were anointed with ill-smelling ointments and had to drink unpleasant or even disgusting concoctions.



THE PROCESSION OF THE BEC JAUNES.

From Widebrand's *Carmen Heroicum*.

They were then polished by rude rubbings, their ears were cleaned with big spoons, their nails were cut, their heads were shaved, and big beards were painted on their faces so as to make these boys look like men.

While undergoing this treatment the freshmen had to listen to a long litany, repeat a confession of their sins after the fashion of the Church ritual, and finally they were drenched with dirty water, roughly dried and declared free of their beanism.

When these tortures were finished, they had to go to the Dean of the philosophical faculty and receive on their knees the salt of

wisdom in imitation of the Christian sacrament, while wine was poured over their heads. The ceremony was concluded with a dinner at the cost of the "deposited" freshmen.

It is interesting to observe that for a long time this deposition was considered as an official act in some universities, for in several university statutes the rule existed that no one could be matriculated or receive the Bachelor's degree unless he could produce his diploma of deposition.

The proverb says that one may become accustomed to anything as eels become accustomed to skinning, and so there were people in the good old times who did not take the ceremony of deposition



ON THE GRINDSTONE.

From Widebrand's *Carmen Heroicum*.

amiss but deemed it an inevitable destiny to which one should submit with grace. Wilhelm Fabricius<sup>2</sup> quotes a letter of a certain Schupps who wrote to his son as follows: "Thou mayest think that in universities wisdom is eaten with spoons and no foolishness can be found in any corner. But when thou arrivest, thou must become in thy first year a fool. . . . *Est quaedam sapientiae pars, cum sacculo suo insanire et sacculi moribus, quantum illibata conscientia fieri potest, morem gerere.* Allow thyself this year to be trilled and vexed in good German and in Red-Welsh. . . . *perfer et obdura. Olim meminisse iurabit.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Die deutschen Corps*, p. 35-36.



The Latin quotations read in an English translation thus: "There is a certain wisdom to be foolish with one's time, and with the customs of the time, so far as it can be done with good conscience to follow the custom. . . . bear it and endure. The time will come when remembrance will be pleasant."<sup>3</sup>

When we consider that the practice of deposition was by no means harmless and that students sometimes received lifelong injuries, we will understand that parents were much afraid of this barbarous custom, and since many evils could be averted by money, fathers had their children pass through the ceremony before they went to the university, in which case they had to apply to some well-known depositor who in consideration of the parent's generosity would let a boy undergo his trials in an easy fashion.

The rule which made deposition obligatory was revoked only in the beginning of the 18th century, and yet even when officially abolished it continued in force. There was only this difference that it became less virulent, and finally the freshmen were let off easily by paying a fine or by a verbal recapitulation of the ancient methods of deposition, which was made impressive by an inspection of the old instruments of torture used on this occasion in former times. Later on even the deposition fee was abolished, and then when freshmen were persecuted, it was done in secrecy.

Another custom which belongs to this class of barbaric traditions is fagging, which was based on the same idea that a new comer is unworthy of equal rights with other academic citizens and that he has to pass through a period of trial. During this time he has to serve his seniors, give up to them his own possessions, money or food which he might receive from home, and sometimes even his clothes.

A freshman in the old German universities was called *pennalis*, viz., a man who comes fresh from the *penna* and still belongs there. *Penna* literally means "pen," but was a general name for any preparatory school. The *pennalis* was called a fool, a feix or feix, which latter word was changed to *Fuchs* or fox. Having passed through two semesters trial they were then admitted as full-fledged members to the community of students called *bursa*, so called with this Latin form, originally meaning purse, because certain expenses were defrayed from a common fund. The term *bursa* was also applied to the house in which a number of students lived, and finally changed

<sup>3</sup> The last two quotations have come down to us indirectly from Homer's *Odyssey*, the former (*Od.* XX, 18) as quoted by Ovid (*Ars Am.* II, 178 and *Tristia* V, 11, 7), the latter (*Od.* XII, 212) as quoted by Virgil (*Æn.* I, 203).

into the word *Bursch*, meaning a young man who is a member of a *bursa*.

The freshman or *Fuchs* at the German university when joining a fraternity of any kind is still subjected to a number of vexations but they are harmless jokes in comparison to the barbarities of past ages.

Hazing and fagging are customs that are not infrequently observed in American universities, but they may be of a spontaneous growth. We neither affirm nor deny an historical connection. It would be difficult to come to a definite conclusion, for one thing is sure that such customs and abuses originate naturally and sometimes independently in different parts of the globe.

We know that the fraternities and religious institutions even among the savages have their periods of trial, and novices are always subjected to different tests of their fitness to become fully privileged members of the society to whom they apply for admittance. The Indian secret societies are in many respects not much different from the Mediæval students' societies, only the methods are different according to the state of the different degrees of culture. Among the Pythagoreans they were more dignified than among the American Indians, and the Mediæval university institutions are decidedly nearer the savage state than to the schools of ancient Greece.

Similar trials had to be undergone by the neophytes of the Greek mysteries at Eleusis as well as in other places.

It is natural that the older members of a community are not inclined to admit the younger ones at once to all the privileges of their own state, and so we find also in the Roman Empire a discrimination made between the *Majorcs* of the schools of rhetoricians and the younger ones who were called the *Exversores*.<sup>4</sup> Similar arrangements are also found in the juridical schools of Emperor Justinianus, and the beginning of the Mediæval university life the nucleus of which appeared to have been the juridical schools of Bologna in Italy may have followed in this special practice the ancient Roman tradition.

It is a matter of common observance that the new comer wherever he may appear has first to pass through a critical period in which he will be exposed to all kinds of provocations, slander and maltreatments, until he becomes acclimatized and is looked upon as

<sup>4</sup>The word *exvertor* (from *exvertere*) means "one who overthrows, a destroyer"; in late Latin "a good-for-nothing"; and finally in university slang, the name of contempt for a freshman. The existence of the term does not prove, but after all suggests the prevalence of fagging.

a member of the society which he has joined. Such a condition is so natural that even the dogs of Constantinople adhere to it.

It is well known that the dogs of the capital of the Turkish Empire live in communities of about 15 or 20 in number, and every such coterie of dogs consider themselves masters of a certain territory. A new comer who tries to partake of the benefits of their domain, of the shelter and food which may be found there, is first attacked most savagely, and it is not uncommon that a dog dies of his wounds, but if he survives and recovers from this ordeal of hazing, he is recognized by the others as a member of their group and is henceforth allowed to share in all the privileges of the canine community which he has joined.

## SOME EPIGRAMS OF GOETHE.

TRANSLATED BY THE EDITOR.

A hundred years thou mayest worship fire,—  
Fall in but once, thou art consumed entire.

Anbete du das Feuer hundert Jahr,  
Dann fall' hinein! Dich frisst's mit Haut und Haar.

\* \* \*

Who on God is grounded	Wer auf Gott vertraut,
Hath his house well founded.	Ist schon auferbant.

\* \* \*

Were to the sun not kin our eyne,  
They ne'er could see the sun's fair beam,  
Lay not in us a power divine,  
Of the divine how could we dream?

Wär' nicht das Auge sonnenhaft,  
Die Sonne könnt' es nie erblicken;  
Läg' nicht in uns des Gottes eigne Kraft,  
Wie könnt' uns Göttliches entzücken!

\* \* \*

God owns all the Orient  
God owns all the Occident,  
Both of North and South the lands  
Peaceful rest in God's good hands.

Gottes ist der Orient,  
Gottes ist der Occident,  
Nord- und südliches Gelände  
Ruht im Frieden seiner Hände.

As any one is  
So is his God,  
And thus is God  
Oft strangely odd.

Wie Einer ist,  
So ist sein Gott;  
Darnum ward Gott  
So oft zu Spott.

\* \* \*

“Cognize thyself.” But how does such self-knowledge pay?  
When I cognize myself, I must at once away.

Erkenne dich! Was hab' ich da für Lohn?  
Erkenn' ich mich, so muss ich gleich davon.

\* \* \*



When in the infinite appeareth  
The same eternal repetition,  
When in harmonious coalition  
A mighty dome its structure reareth;  
A rapture thrills through all existence  
All stars, or great or small are blessed,  
Yet are all strife and all resistance  
In God, the Lord, eternal rest.

A quiet scholar a party attended  
 And home in silence his steps he wended.  
 When asked how he was pleased, he said,  
 "Were people books, those stayed unread."

Aus einer grossen Gesellschaft heraus  
 Ging einst ein stiller Gelehrter zu Haus.  
 Man fragte: "Wie seid ihr zufrieden gewesen?"  
 "Wären's Bücher," sagt' er, "ich würd' sie nicht lesen."

\* \* \*

"The devil take the human race,  
 They drive me mad for anger!"  
 So I decided seriously  
 Will meet none any more!  
 Will leave those folks all to themselves,  
 To God and to —the devil.  
 Yet scarce I see a human face  
 But I fall in love with it.\*

Der Teufel hol' das Menschengeschlecht!  
 Man möchte rasend werden.  
 Da nehm' ich mir so eifrig vor:  
 Will Niemand weiter sehen,  
 Will all das Volk Gott und sich selbst  
 Und dem Teufel überlassen!  
 Und kaum seh' ich ein Menschengesicht,  
 So hab' ich's wieder lieb.

\* \* \*

I know that naught belongs to me  
 Except the thought that light and free  
 Out of my soul is flowing;  
 Also of joy each moment rare  
 Which my good fortune kind and fair  
 Upon me is bestowing!

Ich weiss, dass mir nichts angehört  
 Als der Gedanke der ungestört  
 Aus meiner Seele will fliessen,  
 Und jeder günstige Augenblick,  
 Den mich ein liebendes Geschick  
 Von Grund aus lässt geniessen.

\* Goethe purposely leaves this unrhymed.

Thy worth, wouldst have it recognized?  
Give to the world a worth that's prized!

Willst du dich deines Werthes freuen,  
So mußt der Welt du Werth verleihen.

\* \* \*



Time mows roses and thorns amain;  
She sows them and mows them again and again.

If not of this rule possessed  
 Of dying and becoming,  
 Thou art but a sorry guest  
 In a glad world roaming.

Und so lang du das nicht hast,  
 Dieses Stirb und Werde,  
 Bist du nur ein trüber Gast  
 Auf der schönen Erde.

\* \* \*

“Hast immortality in mind  
 Wilt thou the reason give?”  
 “The most important reason is,  
 We can't without it live.”

“Du hast Unsterblichkeit im Sinn ;  
 Kannst du uns deine Gründe nennen?”  
 “Gar wohl! Der Hauptgrund liegt darin,  
 Dass wir sie nicht entbehren können.”

\* \* \*

Why do you scoff and scout  
 About the All and One  
 The professor's a person no doubt, •  
 God is none.

Was soll mir euer Hohn  
 Ueber das All und Eine?  
 Der Professor ist eine Person  
 Gott ist keine.

\* \* \*

“Why keepest thou aloof? Why lonely  
 Art from our views thou turning?”  
 I do not write to please you only,  
 You must be learning!

“Warum willst du dich von uns allen  
 Und unserer Meinung entfernen?”  
 Ich schreibe nicht euch zu gefallen ;  
 Ihr sollt was lernen.



A fellow says: "I own no school nor college;  
 No master lives whom I acknowledge;  
 And pray don't entertain the thought  
 That from the dead I e'er learned aught."  
 This if I rightly understand  
 Means, "I'm a fool by my own hand."

Ein Quidam sagt: "Ich bin von keiner Schule;  
 Kein Meister lebt, mit dem ich buhle;  
 Auch bin ich weit davon entfernt,  
 Dass ich von Todten was gelernt."  
 Das heisst, wenn ich ihn recht verstand:  
 "Ich bin ein Narr auf eigne Hand."

\* \* \*



Many cooks will spoil the broth,  
 Beware of servants' impositions:  
 We are already, by my troth,  
 A hospital of sick physicians.

\* \* \*

A lie when spoken, when written too,  
 Will poison to others prove and to you.

Habt ihr gelogen in Wort und Schrift,  
 Andern ist es und euch ein Gift.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### MARS DUX AND MAR(U)DUK.

BY C. A. BROWNE.

"I cannot help laughing if I am to suppose that this was the way in which the name was really used."  
Socrates in the "Cratylus."

"Marduk, warrior and leader of the Babylonian gods, is the same as *Mars dux* of the Romans."

C. A. Browne, *Open Court*, Nov. 1908.

"I am unable to agree with Mr. Browne that Marduk is the name Mars of the Romans and yet Mars as Grad-ivus is possibly Marduk as the Kurad or 'warrior' in Chaldaic epic."

The Hon. Willis Brewer, *Open Court*, Feb., 1909.

"I do not agree with either Mr. Browne or the Hon. Mr. Brewer with regard to Mars. Mars and Mar(u)duk are as much related to each other in name as an apple to a pineapple. It seems to me that Mars is an evolution of Mavors, 'war, deeds of arms.'"

Rabbi Sigmund Frey, *Open Court*, May, 1909.

I have been greatly interested by the efforts of the Hon. Willis Brewer and Dr. Sigmund Frey, in the February and May numbers of *The Open Court*, to dispose of my serio-comic ventures in the realms of Babylonian mythology published in *The Open Court* for last November. I agree most fully with what both gentlemen have said regarding my derivations and am ready to accept either one or both of their explanations as a substitute for my own.

But my two disputants appear to have done me a great wrong in taking my prefatory remarks to the selections from the *Cratylus* seriously. The five examples of chance resemblances between the names and attributes of Greek, Roman, and Babylonian gods were the effort of as many minutes random searching. My desire was simply to transfer the application of the Hon. Mr. Brewer's method of philological research from Egyptian to Chaldean mythology and to illustrate the ease with which etymological discoveries of this kind can be made.

That I was putting up a "straw argument" was sufficiently indicated in the two sentences preceding my references to the various gods and goddesses. "Similar resemblances can be traced between the names of the Greek gods, and those of the Hindus, or the Persians, or the Chaldeans. Allow me to mention a few discoveries of my own in Babylonian mythology."

Following this I cited examples of certain resemblances between the Chaldean names, Gunammide, Tiamat, Marduk, Eabani, and Aruru and the names of various Greek and Roman gods, without the slightest suspicion that this drawing of resemblances would be taken seriously. Yet in order to dispel any such illusion I immediately went on to say "Similarities in names and attributes as the above, however striking, are *not* sufficient by themselves to establish derivations."

I regret that, carried away perhaps by the subtleties of the Socratic humor which prevades the "Cratylus," I did not make my meaning sufficiently clear.

---

### PEACEMAKERS IN TROUBLE.

These men of peace are unfortunate in easily stirring up strife. President David Starr Jordan, at the Commencement address at Bryn Mawr, repeated his argument of the nefarious influence of war upon a nation by declaring that France is now in a state of decadence because she had again and again lost her best men in battle, when suddenly M. Lucien Foulet, who holds the chair of French literature at Bryn Mawr, rose from his seat on the platform and with patriotic indignation addressed the speaker saying, "That is not so, monsieur, France is not decadent!" and in protest against the insult to his country, the irate Frenchman proudly left the hall.

In comment on the idea so prevalent in America concerning the decadent state of France, we will say that what foreigners see in the city of Paris is generally transferred upon the whole of France. The truth is that the French provinces show symptoms of decay neither more nor less than any other country of the world. What we consider as Frenchy (by which we generally mean frivolity) is to be met with in any other capital of Europe, with perhaps this sole difference that in Paris more than in any other place it is allowed to come to the surface. As to the French being smaller in stature than the men of purely Teutonic races, we must remember that this is not due to the extermination of the best men in the country, for the Gauls as well as the Italians were smaller than the Teutons from the beginning of history, and Cæsar attributes the huge bodies of the Germans exactly to the opposite cause than President Jordan. He says that warfare did not deteriorate the race of the Swabians, but had invigorated it to an extraordinary degree. We might incidentally mention that another cause of the fine Teutonic physique, mentioned by Cæsar, is the absolute prohibition of all liquors which, the Swabians said, tended to effeminate mankind. (Cæsar, *De Bello Gall.* IV, 1-2.)

We have received some letters from friends of peace in criticism of our position. One of them claims that navies are supererogatory, they are only apt to stir up trouble and since there are no pirates on the seas there is no earthly use for men of war. But if navies no longer existed pirates would spring up like mushrooms in all parts of the world and our merchantmen would soon have to go armed again as in olden times.

We have also been told that the police is no longer needed for keeping order in our cities. A few years ago when the street car strike paralyzed St. Louis, where women were roughly torn off from street cars, non-union motor men knocked down at their posts and law seemed abolished, we may remember how the present Secretary of Commerce and Labor organized a protective company of private citizens armed with guns loaded with buckshot, whereat

the rioters who had not been amenable to any persuasion or consideration of law and order, submitted pretty rapidly. There was no need of shooting or killing any disturber of the peace, because the determined effort to keep peace at any price—even at the cost of a fight for order, the indispensable condition of peace—was sufficient to overawe the unruly elements.

If Secretary Nagel had believed in the principles of the peacemakers at any price except the price of fighting for peace, he would not have succeeded in reestablishing order.

P. C.

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### PROFESSOR MILLS AND THE PARSİ COMMUNITY.

*The London Indian Chronicle* speaks as follows in its issue of March, 1909, with regard to our esteemed contributor, Professor Mills:

“In the celebration of the Parsi Jamshedi Naoroz festival in London in past years, honor has been done to guests who have served the community as administrators and politicians. Lord Reay, Lord Ampthill, and Mr. Harold Cox have been fitly honored for such services; but it was no less fitting that in this year’s celebration the scholar, the interpreter of Zoroastrian sacred writings, should be entertained in the person of Dr. L. H. Mills. After all, we do not live by bread alone, by the political action of ourselves or the State. The world is governed by ideas, by moral ideas; and the Parsis cannot rightly play their part in the world of to-day as a community unless they know the spirit and purport of their ancient writings. In consequence of the compulsion they were under when they found asylum in India to adopt as their own the language of the people, these writings were in large measure sealed to the Parsis until the task of translation and interpretation was taken in hand by great Orientalists. Conspicuous among the workers in this field, perhaps the most enthusiastic of them all, has been Professor Mills, whose contributions to our knowledge of the Avesta have been of the most striking value and importance. Though well stricken in years and a sufferer from ill-health, Dr. Mills works on with undiminished zeal and acceptability, his love of the work seeming if anything to strengthen with age. The Parsis of London were proud to do him honor on the 21st instant, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, and they pray that his life may be spared to complete the great fabric of his Zoroastrian researches, accomplished and designed.

\* \* \*

“Sunday, the 21st instant, the day of the Vernal Equinox, might well be regarded as a notable day in the history of the Parsis at present resident in England. As usual, the Parsi Association of Europe arranged to celebrate the great Persian festival in a befitting manner, and sixty-seven covers were laid in one of the most commodious rooms of the Westminster Palace Hotel for the entertainment of all assembled that evening. The decorations of the table and variety and quality of the banquet were in the best style of the celebrated hotel. That, however, which lent special significance to the event was the presence of Professor Lawrence Mills of Oxford, as the honored guest of the community. . . .

“[Among the toasts of the evening] the Chairman proposed the health of Professor Mills in very laudatory terms, and assured the distinguished guest in what esteem and regard the Parsis throughout the world held him for his eminent researches in the field of Zend and Pahlavi literature.

"Professor Mills, who received a hearty ovation when he rose to respond, said he valued most highly the compliment they had paid him in asking him to be present at their domestic festival. He was particularly thankful for the kind allusions made about him by his friend Sir Mancherji, [the chairman of the evening].

"Professor Lawrence Mills, who was again very heartily received, in proposing the toast of the 'Parsi Community,' referred with sincere feelings to the love he bore to the Parsis and everything connected with them. He said that in proportion to their numbers the Parsis had produced more eminent men than any other community or race in the world. The Gathas contained the essence of Universal Religion in the purest form. Professor Mills then dwelt on their religious basis, and advised the members of the race to hold fast to the tenets of the Gathic religion. He expressed great pleasure in being asked to be the guest of the Parsis in England, and concluded by proposing the toast of the Parsi Community in all parts of the world."

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#### THE PHILOSOPHER ADRIFT.

Lao-tze, the Grand Old Man of China, is most generally represented seated on an ox and accompanied by a small attendant as in our frontispiece. This tradition is based on the report of Sze-Ma-Ch'ien that at an advanced age Lao-tze left his native state Cho and departed from his home so that he might not be compelled to see the ruin of his country. No one knows where he died. It is a melancholy thought that the greatest sage of a country should feel obliged to seek a new abiding place after he has reached his eighties, and we can not help feeling sympathy with the suffering caused through the rottenness of political and social conditions which forced Lao-tze to seek his grave in strange lands among foreign barbarians.

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#### NOTES.

Joseph Koehler, one of the leading authorities of the juridical faculty at the University of Vienna, who a few years ago received an honorary degree at the University of Chicago, has published a versified version of Lao-Tze's Tao Teh King. It is well known to those who know Professor Koehler that his interest is by no means limited to his specialty but that he studies with preference not only Oriental and Hebrew law, but also Indian and Chinese philosophy. Though the original is mostly written in prose and quotes verses only incidentally, Koehler's versified version is upon the whole very readable and reproduces very well the spirit of the original.

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The University of the South at Sewanee, Tenn., the main center of Episcopalian scholarship in this country, has opened its buildings for a summer university extension session under the directorship of the Rev. William Norman Guthrie, and we will mention that the Editor of *The Open Court* gave a course of lectures there last year on comparative religion and has accepted another invitation to lecture on the religion of the German classical authors this summer, from July 19 to 23.

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*Extract from a letter to Professor De Vries by Dr. Hjalmar Nilsson of the Swedish Agricultural Experiment Station at Svalof.*

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